"DRY" AMERICA:

AN OBJECT LESSON TO INDIA

BY

ST. NIHAL SINGH

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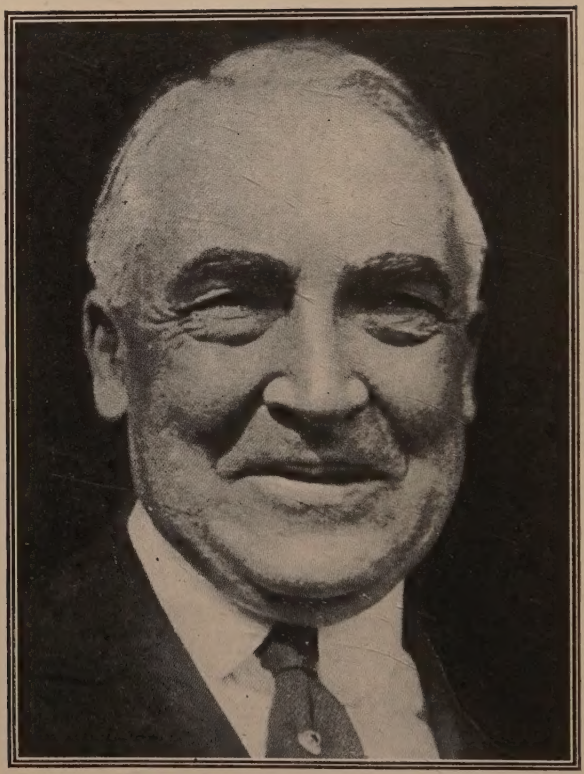

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WARREN G. HARDING,

President of the United States of America.

"In every community men and women have had an opportunity now to know what prohibition means. They know that debts are more promptly paid; that men take home the wages that once were wasted in saloons; that families are better clothed and fed, and more money finds its way into the Savings Bank. The liquor traffic was destructive of much that was most precious in American life. In the face of so much evidence on that point, what conscientious man would want to let his own selfish desires influence him to vote to bring it back?"

(From statement issued on the eve of the Presidential Election, Nov. 1920).

"DRY" AMERICA:

An Object-Lesson to India

BY

ST. NIHAL SINGH

AUTHOR OF:

Essays on India; Messages of Uplift for India; Glimpses of the Orient To-day; Making Bad Children Good; Urge Divine; Progressive British India; Japan's Modernisation; India's Fighting Troops; Indias Fighters; The Kings Indian Allies; the Rajas and their India; India and the War; etc.

Assisted by

CATHLEYNE ST. NIHAL SINGH

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To
My Friend

WILLIAM EUGENE JOHNSON
("PUSSYFOOT")

as a token of esteem for his life-long
championship of the cause.

158381

CONTENTS

		PAGE
	Frontispiece	
	Foreword	ix
Chapter		
I.	Rise of the Movement	1
II.	Victory	20
III.	Effect on Capital	47
IV.	Improvement of Labour Conditions.	72
V.	Social Effects	91
VI.	Health Under Prohibition	104
VII.	Decrease in Crime	119
VIII.	Savings to the Community ...	130
IX.	The Indian Problem	147
	Bibliography	155
	Index	157

FOREWORD

India, with her traditions of temperance stretching back to the remotest ages, should have set the pace in prohibition for the world. That opportunity has been lost to us through the action taken in the United States; but it is still in our power to be the first country in the Orient to extinguish the liquor traffic.

If we are to gain that distinction, we shall have to act promptly, for the progressive nations are not going to permit themselves to be long outstripped by America; if only because experience proves that sobriety means greater individual and national efficiency, and, therefore, gives Americans great advantages in the industrial and commercial race. That the liquor interests everywhere are frightened is shown by the frantic attempts which are being made to give the impression that the prohibition constitutional amendment, which came into operation on January 16, 1920, is being evaded, and that gross abuses are resulting from it.

As was to be expected during the period of transition, persons themselves addicted to drink, and more especially those bent upon exploiting human frailties, have made many attempts to contravene the law. In view of the area and population of the country, and the extent to which liquor had taken hold of the people, there is, however, nothing in such infractions to make one pessimistic. They are, in any case, being rigorously put down, and there is every reason to believe that in a comparatively short time prohibition will be completely effective. To that end are working the zealous men and women who are responsible for America going "dry".

In spite of all transitional infractions of the law, prohibition is proving a great blessing to the people of the United States. Cases of brawls, assaults, and even more heinous forms of crime, and of insanity are decreasing. Municipalities and States are saving money upon police court establishments, jails, "poor-houses" (workhouses), insane asylums, and other institutions. Sobriety is promoting domestic happiness and thrift and increasing the value of property in the areas from which the "saloon" (drink shop) has been evicted, and

thereby is benefiting the State as well as the individual. The places which were formerly devoted to a trade which made for crime and personal and social misery, and decreased human efficiency, are now being used for the manufacture or sale of articles of utility or for providing innocent amusement. With the disappearance of the saloon has gone the worst influence which corrupted public life.

This book is written to indicate how the United States overcame the difficulties standing in the way of prohibition, and the results which are already visible, in the hope that it may prove useful to us in effectively dealing with our own problem. The present is the right moment for us to undertake such a task, because Indians, irrespective of their political differences, are determined to seize every opportunity to regain for India the primacy of position which she once occupied in the comity of nations.

ST. NIHAL SINGH

29, ROLLSCOURT AVENUE,
HERNE HILL LONDON, S.E. 24.
July 6, 1921.

"DRY" AMERICA

CHAPTER I

RISE OF THE MOVEMENT

PRIOR to the white man's arrival, the North American Indians * knew practically nothing of intoxicating liquors. A few tribes made beverages from fermented corn, or from the sap of maple trees, or decoctions of one sort or another, all somewhat intoxicating but seldom used except for religious ceremonies. Drunkenness was known only to the aborigines in the far south-west, and to the Indians in Mexico and Central America.

The White man lost no time in introducing the red man to drink. Jacques Cartier, in 1535,

---

* So named because Columbus discovered America, when seeking the sea-route to India. Americans call our peoples "Hindoos" to distinguish them from the Red Indians (aborigines).

entertained Chief Donnaconna and his tribesmen at a feast of bread and wine when the first meeting between the French and Indians took place on the Island of Orleans in the St. Lawrence River. A drunken orgy also took place at the first meeting that Henry Hudson had with the Indians in New York Harbour in 1609, the English explorer treating the red men to spirits. The island on which New York stands derived its name from that carousal, the Delawares referring to it as Manahactanienk—literally "the-place-where-we-all-got-drunk"—a word which was afterwards corrupted into "Manhattan."

Even the Pilgrim Fathers did not hesitate to offer liquor to the Indians of Massachusetts who had never before known what it was to drink intoxicating beverages. When the great Chief Massasoit visited them at Plymouth soon after they landed, in 1620, they honoured him with a military salute, music and a "pot of strong water."

Drunkenness made such rapid progress amongst the Indians and caused such havoc among them that far-seeing Chiefs realised the peril of the situation and tried to put a stop to the evil. Finding their own unaided efforts

unavailing they begged the colonists to help them in their crusade by making it impossible for their tribesmen to obtain liquor.

Perhaps the most eloquent of these Indian leaders was "Little Turtle", Mechecunnaqua, chief of the Miami Indians. That he had organised and led a group of Indian tribes in many frontier fights in the middle west did not prevent him from going, in 1797, to President Adams and begging him to prevent white men from peddling whiskey to his people. Finding his journey to Washington, D.C., useless, he appeared, four years later, before the Baltimore yearly meeting of Friends (Quakers).

In the course of the appeal "Little Turtle" made on that occasion he said that "since the introduction amongst us of what you call spirituous liquors, and what we think may justly be called poison, our numbers have greatly diminished". He also declared that most of the existing evils amongst his people had been caught from the white men, not only that liquor which destroys us daily, but many diseases which our forefathers were ignorant of before they saw you."

Since drinking was an evil introduced among the red men by the white people, the chief

looked up to the latter to remove it from their country. He beseeched the Quakers, if they had the friendship for the Indians which they professed to have, to fetch useful things—goods that would clothe them, "but not this evil liquor which destroys our reason; that destroys our health; that destroys our life," and which was "more to be feared than the gun and tomahawk". It had made them poor; it had caused their "young men to go without clothes" and their "women and children to go without anything to eat". He thus graphically described the temptations to which they were subjected.

"When our young men have been out hunting and are returning home loaded with skins and furs, on their way if it happens that they come along where some of this whiskey is deposited, the white man who sells it tells them to take a little and drink. Some of them say no. I do not want it. They go until they come to another house, where they find more of the same kind of drink. It is there again offered. They refuse and, again, the third time, but finally the fourth time, one accepts it and takes a drink, and getting one he wants another, and then a third and fourth, till his senses have left him. After his reason comes back to

him, he gets up and finds where he is. He asks for his peltry. The answer is, you have drunk them. Where is my gun? It is gone. Where is my blanket? It is gone. Where is my shirt? You have sold it for liquor."

"Little Turtle" begged his white brothers to imagine for themselves "what a condition this man must be in—he has a family at home, a wife and children that stand in need of the profits of his hunting. What must their wants be", he asked, "when he is even without a shirt"? And yet the Indians had no means to prevent it.

The wise among the settlers were only too anxious to stem the rising tide of drunkenness among the red men, for they found that it led them to take to the "war path". In fact, practically every red Indian war and massacre in American history originated from the traffic in liquor.

Private greed to make profit out of the liquor trade, however, stood in the way of stopping the evil, and in spite of all pleas from the Indian chiefs and efforts by the colonial and later the United States authorities, drinking continued to increase among the Indians. Even so late as the middle of the last decade, the white men settled in the Indian territory flagrantly broke

the regulations prohibiting the manufacture, import or sale of liquor there, and as related in a subsequent chapter, the Indian Bureau at Washington had to make special arrangements to suppress the traffic.

Just as the Red Indian was introduced to liquor by the white man in America, so the African was introduced to it through the greed of settlers who sought to secure a foreign market for American intoxicants. Ships which took liquor to Africa brought back Negro slaves to North America. The volume to which that traffic had grown can be judged by the fact that in 1734 six vessels of rum were sent from Rhode Island and returned with a cargo of African slaves. In other words, the curse of slavery and the Negro problem in the United States grew out of the liquor trade.

While the colonists were anxious to sell liquor to the Africans in Africa, they were extremely vigilant in keeping strong drink away from the Negro slaves in America. Negroes were the property of their masters, and, therefore, their time and strength belonged to their owners, who naturally wished to get the utmost out of them. The attitude was not markedly different even towards the white employees. Their time

and strength was supposed to belong to their employer, who sought the aid of legislation to prevent liquor from promoting idleness and inefficiency among them.

The motive for legislative reform in the earliest stage of the struggle was, therefore, largely economic. The humanitarian aspect of the question did not seriously enter into consideration.

The men who legislated wished, however, to reserve to themselves full power to indulge in the intoxicants which they sought to make it impossible for the Indian, the Negro, and their white employees to have. The process of reform began in America, as elsewhere, by the man in power laying down the law to his inferiors.

Though before the Revolutionary War (1776) or the War of Independence, as it is variously called, some attempts had been made to regulate the liquor traffic, the movement, so far as the white settlers were concerned, did not really originate until they found themselves engaged in that struggle. The far-sighted among the revolutionary leaders soon realised that if they were to succeed they must keep drink away from the soldiers, since it made them unreliable and lowered their fighting efficiency. Quite

early in the war orders were, therefore, issued restricting the sale and use of spirits.

That action did not, however, satisfy Dr. Benjamin Rush, who had taken a leading part in the drafting of the Declaration of Independence. He carried on a strong propaganda against the use of strong drink among the soldiers, and finally succeeded in persuading the War Board of the Continental Congress to circulate among the troops a pamphlet showing the harm done by liquor and urging them to abstain from its use while they were fighting to defend their country.

A little later an appeal from the Continental Congress led several of the colonial legislatures to pass laws to curtail distilling in order to conserve grain supplies.

If, however, the Revolutionary War made the authorities realise the necessity of restricting the use of liquor among the troops, it also created the financial necessity which led to the discovery of the revenue that might be derived from liquor, which eventually proved to be the great stumbling block in the path of the prohibitionist. The Federal Government, chiefly pressed by Alexander Hamilton, adopted a measure in Congress, in 1791, which was

estimated to bring to the national exchequer an annual amount of $ 826,000.*

This action was challenged by some of the States. They declared that it militated against the rights reserved to them by the Constitution. These objections were, however, brushed aside by the Federal authorities.

The "Whiskey Rebellion" of 1792 in Western Pennsylvania was, therefore, the precursor of the great armed struggle precipitated by the advocates of State rights, which, in the middle of the last century, made the north and the south range themselves in opposite camps, and resulted in the emancipation of the slaves. It failed, however, to secure the repeal of the Act.

From 1791 till 1920, when the prohibition Amendment was added to the Constitution, the United States continued to derive an ever growing income from liquor, with the exception of a few years during which Congress refused to profit from such traffic. It kept increasing, until, in the year ending June 30, 1919—the last year for which statistics are available—the United States Government derived a revenue of $483,050,854.47 or almost $5 per head of population from liquor excise.

* A Dollar ($) is normally about Rs. 3.

While distilleries and breweries were multiplying, the consumption of liquor increasing, and the revenue derived therefrom rising, the religious conscience of America was beginning to realise the harm done by liquor and to protest against its use. Members of the Society of Friends, Methodists, Presbyterians, and leaders belonging to other denominations began to issue pamphlets and appeals, and to organise societies and association to combat the evil.

It is interesting to note from the literature issued at this period, say towards the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, that the writers looked upon the problem from an individual rather than from a sociological point of view. They sought to stop the use of liquor because it did harm to the individual rather than because it was harmful to society in general—harmful to the entire body politic. The new movement, deriving its inspiration from religion, was, however, different from the earlier efforts which had been inspired by economic motives and were vitiated by race and class consciousness.

The rise of the movement was remarkable because, theretofore, liquor had entered into

Christian Sacrament. The ministers of religion who stood for total abstinence from all intoxicants, had, therefore, to face and to conquer considerable opposition from within their own church organisations. It stands to their eternal credit that they were able to rise above prejudices rendered hoary by usage and to put up with much personal abuse.

The work done by these pioneers had, by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, brought into being a strong body of opinion which regarded drinking places as public nuisances, and urged action against them upon sociological and not merely individual grounds.

Several powerful organisations banded together for the purpose of promoting sobriety rose in various parts of the country and carried on vigorous and persistent propaganda. The temperance forces had, by 1840, grown strong enough to hold, in that year, a National Convention, which gave the movement a definite national character.

This temperance activity had already begun to find expression in legislative enactment. In 1832, the legislature of Indiana passed the local option law. Georgia followed, in 1833,

with a law giving local option to two counties to be exercised by the local courts. During the next seventeen years many communities in different States secured the right to decide for themselves whether or not liquor was to be sold in their precincts.

This movement began to be superseded, in the '40's, by that of State-wide prohibition, as the result of agitation which temperance reformers not contented with action by towns and counties had been carrying on. A committee appointed at their instance in 1837 by the legislature of the State of Maine reported that:

"The liquor traffic is attended with the most appalling evils to the community. It is an unmitigated evil. Your committee are not only of the opinion that the law giving the right to sell ardent spirits should be repealed, but that a law should be passed to prohibit the traffic in them, except so far as the arts or the practice of medicine may be concerned."

A vigorous agitation was at once begun by a band of workers headed by Neal Dow, the son of a wealthy Quaker, to have this recommendation translated into an Act. Before they were successful in this effort, however, the territorial Legislature of Oregon, in 1843, passed

a prohibitory law. Three years later Neal Dow and his friends succeeded in getting the Democratic Legislature of their State to pass a similar law, and its example was followed a year later, by the Legislature of Delaware.

As the law of 1846 did not prove effective, Maine, five years later, passed a much more drastic measure providing for the confiscation and destruction of intoxicating liquor. Shortly afterwards the States of Vermont New Hampshire and Connecticut, passed legislation prohibiting the liquor traffic.

Similar attempts were made in the States of New York and Indiana, but failed, the prohibitory laws passed in both those States being declared unconstitutional.

The Civil War (1861-65) had a general demoralising effect upon the American people, which resulted in a distinct set back for the movement. The great issues raised by the struggle absorbed the attention of the people and most of these imperfect "dry laws" were repealed.

The American Temperance Union, which, for a generation, had led the National movement, had been greatly weakened, and, in consequence, the general temperance movement regressed through lack of capable and vigilant direction.

A distinct tendency to revert to the local option system, instead of to State-wide prohibition, began to assert itself. In course of time the majority of the States passed laws to give localities such option.

Towards the close of the sixties the reformers made what afterwards proved to be a strategic blunder. They determined upon organising a separate political party for the purpose of enforcing prohibition throughout continental United States. A committee for that purpose was appointed in May, 1869, by the National Convention of the Grand Lodge of Good Templars which, organised in 1851, had come to occupy the most prominent position among the Temperance Societies.

The Party itself came into being on September 1st of that year. It advocated both State and National legislation for the suppression of the drink evil, as is evident from Articles 2 and 3 of the platform, adopted at the first Convention :

"2. That the traffic in intoxicating beverages is a dishonour to Christian civilisation,.....to the best interests of society, a political wrong of unequalled enormity, subversive of the ordinary object of government, not capable of being regula-

ted or restrained by any system of licenses whatever, but imperatively demanding for its suppression effective local prohibition, both by State and National Legislation.

"3. That in view of this, and in as much as the existing political parties either oppose or ignore this great and paramount question, and absolutely refuse to do anything toward the suppression of the rum traffic, which is robbing the nation of its brightest intellects, destroying internal prosperity, and rapidly undermining its very foundations, we are driven by an imperative sense of duty to sever our connection with these political parties and organise ourselves into a National Prohibition Party, having for its primary object the entire prohibition of the traffic in intoxicating drinks."

Three years later James Black was nominated Presidential candidate. He received only 5,607 votes. That result did not, however, dampen the zeal of the men who had overborne the minority which stood for non-partisan temperance action. They believed that, as time went on and their methods of organisation improved, they would be able to achieve victory.

The adherents of the Prohibition Party claimed the credit for swinging the Presidential election in favour of Grover Cleveland, in 1884, by

drawing so many votes from his opponent, James G. Blaine, in the State of New York, that the Republican candidate was defeated. Be that as it may, the votes polled by the Prohibition Party never amounted to more than one in forty-four.

The movement for partisan prohibition failed chiefly because it was not in harmony with current American thought. While the Prohibition Party was seeking to have its nominee elected as the chief magistrate of the nation, American reformers were seeking to break up the power of the political managers ("bosses") and to have the control of public affairs vested in the people themselves. This tendency was manifested in adoption of the secret ballot, corrupt practices acts, "Direct primaries," initiative and referendum, and similar legislation. This was done to such an extent that the old time political "boss" became an extinct species in American politics.

Far-seeing prohibition leaders, like Mr. J. G. Woolley, who ran as the Prohibition candidate for President, in 1902, and Mr. W. E. Johnson, better known as "Pussyfoot" Johnson, of whom more later, made, for a number of years, a determined fight, within the party, to induce

it to refrain from nominating any candidates, except in cases where the dominant parties made nominations subservient to the liquor interests. They urged that where the existing parties nominated satisfactory candidates, the Prohibitionists should endorse such candidates, and not split the "dry" strength by making separate nominations for such positions.

Failing in that attempt, these leaders eventually withdrew from the party to espouse the non-partisan movement (discussed in a subsequent chapter) which they regarded as more in harmony with democratic government and with the new sprit of the times. The final victory of the prohibition cause, achieved by the non-partisan methods, showed the wisdom of their contention.

The first actual step in favour of reversion to the former non-partisan form of temperance activity was taken by a Woman's organisation—The Women's Christian Temperance Union—which was founded in 1874. Nine years later the Union passed a resolution promising to lend its "influence to that party, by whatever name called, which shall furnish the best embodiment of Prohibition principles, and will most surely protect our homes". Effort was to be made "to

secure in each territory non-partisan Prohibition Conventions of men and women before the party nominating conventions of 1884" were held, and at such conventions to endeavour to unite electors in declarations that they would vote with no party that had not prohibition in its platform.

In 1893, the Anti-Saloon League was formed by Dr. Howard H. Russell, a Congregational Minister of Oberlin, Ohio. The purpose of the League was to unite all the temperance forces, irrespective of religious or political sympathies, into a united movement for prohibition purposes.

The League attracted men of great vigour and organising ability such as Purley A. Baker, E. C. Dinwiddie, John C. Jackson, Wayne B. Wheeler, and later, Mr. Ernest H. Cherrington and William E. Johnson. They realised that the failure of the prohibition workers to secure better results was due to the fact that while they spent much activity and money in carrying on educational propaganda, they did not take care to ensure favourable results at the poll, or to prevent the liquor interests from undermining such results through lax administration of the "dry" laws.

The victories won in the fight for prohibition during the succeeding years were largely due to the efforts put forward by this League and the Women's Temperance Union, often co-operating with one another. The line adopted by them both, during the early years, was to have liquor banned as far as possible, through the operation of local option and by means of State action, and later by an amendment to the National Constitution.

CHAPTER II

VICTORY

TOWARDS the close of the '70's' of the last century, a wave of prohibition began to sweep over some of the States. The Legislature of Kansas, submitted a constitutional amendment in 1879, to the vote of the people. It was adopted in the election during the autumn of the next year.

Similar action during the next decade resulted in the adoption of State-wide prohibition in two other States, viz., North Dakota and South Dakota, while Maine, Vermont and New Hampshire were already "dry." Prohibition amendments were submitted to popular vote in several other States, but were either defeated, or, if adopted, declared unconstitutional, or repealed, or practically nullified in some or all the counties of a State by the enactment of "mulct" or similar laws which took away administratively what had been conceded politically.

The fight between the prohibition forces and

liquor interests during the next two decades (1890-1910) produced chequered results. Now a State went "dry". Again it was won by the "wets", only later to be won back by the prohibitionists, who, if unsuccessful through State action achieved their purpose through inducing as many counties as possible to ban liquor through local option. It would serve no object to give details of these fights.

In order to triumph over their opponents, the liquor interests corrupted voters and election officers, bribed legislators, officials and newspaper men, employed lawyers to fight the temperance advocates through the courts, and carried on extensive propaganda, through the saloon and otherwise, to confuse the real issue and to dupe the public. The prohibitionists could not have achieved victory had they shown any mercy to this monster.

No prohibitionist did more to expose the shady methods employed by liquor traffic than Mr. W. E. (better known as "Pussyfoot")* Johnson. In 1890, while engaged in the fight to put through the "dry" amendment in the State of Nebraska,

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*Why Mr. Johnson is called "Pussyfoot" is explained on a later page in this chapter.

he hit upon an ingenious device to make the liquor interests furnish him with compromising evidence. On notepaper bearing the legend "Johnson's Pale Ale," he wrote the following letter to manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers of drink:

"Dear Sir:

There is a prohibition amendment pending in this State, and I would like to have your advice as a member of the trade. You have had experience in fighting prohibition in your State, and you know what the best plans are.

"Please tell us frankly what you think we should lay the most stress on in Nebraska for accomplishing the best results for the liquor trade. It is my opinion that if the Nebraska dealers will take up high licence and show its advantages as a revenue measure † and a plan for regulating the traffic, etc., they will get the support of the best people, and even some preachers. What do you think of this?

"What effectiveness is there in using anti-prohi-

† This point deserves to be carefully noted. By putting a high tax upon liquor and making the State dependent, to a large degree, upon such revenue, the liquor interests secure, in all countries, a powerful influence in support of this monopoly.

bition documents? What class of documents are best? Do you know of any documents that will have weight against prohibition among the religious people?

"How should campaign funds be distributed for the best results? Is it worth while to hire speakers or to engage in debates with the prohibitionists? I think myself that the trade will accomplish more by spending the bulk of the funds among newspapers, and for quiet work with men of influence, especially politicians. Give me your best plan for working through political machinery, and especially how to silence the pulpit and the press.

Yours faithfully,
W. E. Johnson."

Without waiting to enquire into Mr. Johnson's credentials, the liquor dealers took him into their confidence. Evidence showing the secret methods by which they corrupted politicians and newspaper men poured into his office.

When Mr. Johnson felt that he had secured enough evidence to damn the trade, he printed it in the *New York Voice* and the *Lincoln Call*. The men who were thus hit promptly replied by using their influence to prevent the paper

circulating in Nebraska. They had, however, counted without their host, for he immediately started a paper of his own and began printing his revelations in it. When the trade stooped to terrorising the boys who sold his paper, he, a man of powerful frame, and exceptionally quick-witted, did not hesitate to put up a fight.

In 1906 the Federal authorities engaged Mr. Johnson to suppress the liquor traffic in the Indian Territory (now the State of Oklahoma), since the contravention of the laws prohibiting the importation of liquor into that Territory or its manufacture and sale there amounted to a great public scandal. The Commissioner for (red) Indian Affairs selected him because he was the one man who possessed the shrewdness and courage to clean up that area, and gave him a free hand to employ his own staff and to incur expenditure.

The liquor dealers tried to interfere, but Col. Theodore Roosevelt, then President of the United States, refused to listen to them. In his characteristic way he wrote : "Leave Johnson alone, more power to his elbow," upon a letter addressed to him by a powerful politician who tried to block Mr. Johnson's efforts to enforce the Federal orders in the Indian Territory.

I have in my possession several huge scrap-books containing cuttings from newspapers of that time describing Mr. Johnson's exploits in dealing with the desperadoes engaged in contravening the liquor laws in the wild and woolly west. I select from them one instance to show the ingenuity and intrepidity of the man during a period when his life was every moment in the gravest peril.

A drink-seller went about bragging that he was out for Johnson's blood and meant to shoot him at sight. The redoubtable Special Officer decided to give him a chance to carry out his threat. Learning that his enemy had never seen him, he carefully disguised himself, rode up to the door of his pool (billiard) hall, tied his horse to a post, and pretending to be dead drunk, reeled into the place and asked for a drink.

A bottle of sarsaparilla—a "soft" drink—was set before Mr. Johnson. He threw it down in a fit of anger and demanded "real hell fire". The drink seller thereupon took him to be a genuine customer, and, opening a trap door in the floor, he took out a bottle of spirits and pushed it towards him. After pouring out a generous libation, Johnson asked for some tobacco. His quick wits had shown him that, in order to get

the weed, the fellow would have to turn his back upon him, and that would give him the opportunity to disarm him.

The instant the man's back was turned Johnson whipped out the liquor seller's gun (revolver). When the astonished man looked around, he saw the muzzle of his own weapon levelled at him. He readily submitted, was taken prisoner, and was prosecuted and punished.

Ever since that day Mr. Johnson has been known as "Pussyfoot."*

Through such fighting did Mr. Johnson turn "what used to be a rather dreary farce into an actual accomplishment in the enforcement of the Acts of Congress forbidding the liquor traffic in the Indian Territory". So wrote the Indian Commissioner in his official report dated September 30, 1907.

The following year, as Chief Special Officer, Mr. Johnson was placed in charge of the work of suppressing the liquor traffic in all the Indian Reserve in the United States. In this enlarged sphere he had a hundred men, working under

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* This expressive Americanism is applied to a man who, like the pussy, moves about without making noise.

him, and an appropriation of $80,000 and upwards per year. One can judge of the methods that he had to employ from the statement that he made in that year. He wrote :

"We have not been very tender in our dealings with these hyenas who would get an Indian drunk so as to rob him of his blanket.....Nothing but the unrelenting cold steel of absolute justice will have any effect on the cuticle of such. There is no quarter asked or given, and no sympathy wasted."

Telling me of his experience among the Indians, Mr. Johnson related the following story to show how easy it was to enlist the sympathy of the Indians themselves on behalf of the crusade in which he was engaged. In 1908 he was lying sick in bed when, at midnight, one of his assistants brought to him the news that a young Indian, while under the influence of drink, had committed an assault upon a white girl. He immediately got up, and rode out with two of his deputies arrested the man, managed to elude the band of white men bent upon stringing his prisoner up on the nearest tree, and locked him up safely in jail. The Indian was tried, found guilty, and sent to the penitentiary for seven years.

A year later, when Johnson was visiting that town again, the Chief of the Tribe, with the father of the convicted Indian and some of his "braves," called upon him to protest and told him how the wife and children of the man he had sent to the penitentiary were constantly weeping and wailing, and declared that the young Indian would have still been with them had not a white man tempted him to drink.

"Where is that white man"? Johnson asked.

The Chief had to admit that he, too, was in the penitentiary sent there by Johnson for selling drink.

The Indians quickly saw that the Officer was their friend, and was trying to convict the men who were seeking to get them into trouble by placing drink within their reach.

Before entering the Indian Service, Mr. Johnson went to New York, where he procured sensational evidence regarding the low hotels and clubs which had been set up in that State by the liquor interests for the purpose of defeating the regulation of the trade under the "Raines Law". He carried on similar investigations, in 1899, in South Carolina, and brought to light the methods pursued by the liquor trade in contravention of the so-called "distil-

lery system", an adaptation of the Gothenburg System.

That system of State control originated in Gothenburg (Sweden) in 1865, when a committee of the Municipality proposed to hand over the licences for the sale of brandy to a company. With a view to restricting and regulating the sale of liquor, it was provided that neither capitalists nor liquor dealers were to derive any profit from the traffic; that publicans were not to give credit or to act as money-lenders; that liquor shops were to be well lighted and ventilated, spacious, and clean; that well-cooked, wholesome food was to be supplied at moderate charges; and that no liquor was to be sold to intoxicated persons or miners.

A company, known as the *Bolag,* was formed, consisting of 20 highly respected firms and private individuals. It took over 36 licences, operating some through its agents and others through sub-licences. It proposed to make drinking expensive; to lower the percentage of alcohol in beverages; to limit the amount obtainable by any one person; to turn the liquor shops, as far as possible, into eating houses; to reduce the number of present and future

drunkards; and to reduce the hours during which liquor was to be obtainable. It had a law passed that no drink-shop was to be established near a factory, and that a liquor shop should have at least two rooms. Reading rooms were established where people could profitably while away their leisure hours.

Mr. Johnson found that under cover of the "Dispensary System", the liquor dealers had set up "blind tigers", "speak-easies", and similar institutions to carry on illicit traffic. His revelations came as a shock to the good people, who felt that in inaugurating that system they had introduced a great reform. Evidence gathered by him enabled the Federal Government to win the suit that had been instituted against it by the State of South Carolina to deprive the Federal Exchequer of excise revenue through the operation of that system.*

A few years later, Mr. Johnson secured amazing confessions from conductors of newspapers in West Virginia involving them in the liquor traffic. Posing as a literary agent at Washing-

*Some years later, investigation on the spot led Mr. Johnson to write a scathing criticism of the Gothenburg System.

ton, D.C., under the name of C.L. Trevitt, he wrote a letter enquiring what terms he could make with them

"for the privilege of laying arguments against prohibition before your readers. Advise me what rate per line you will charge for pure reading matter without advertising marks and also what rate you will charge for editorial matter. I am willing to pay for editorials against prohibition, even if written by yourself."

Only 10 out of the 70 newspapers approached by him refused to accept money for undermining prohibition in that manner. The others fell into the trap and asked, frankly or otherwise, for bribes.

Among the replies received was a letter from the editor of a newspaper which read, in part:

"I am in the market for business, and I accept your proposition. I am hard up too, and the sooner you send your matter, and a small cheque, the better it will be for me."

That editor acted, every Sunday, as Superintendent of a Sunday School.

Some editors actually requested Johnson to send the money by telegraph, so eager were they to be subsidised.

Mr. Johnson published these letters in facsi-

mile. The victims promptly called him a "forger," "vulture", and "blackmailer", but he replied by telling a representative of *Collier's Weekly* who interviewed him that he had no apologies to make, that he was out after scamps and had got them, and that was not the first time he had set traps for crooks and caught them.

While secretly corrupting persons in power, the manufacturers, importers and sellers of liquor employed the cleverest lawyers to fight prohibition in the courts. At first they contended that the state had no right to pass prohibitory laws, because they contravened the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution, which prohibits the individual states from making or enforcing any law which may "abridge the privileges or immunities of any citizen of the United States," and also prohibits any state from depriving "any person of property without due process of law."

Prohibitionists pointed out that the prohibition of drink did not interfere with personal liberty any more than action taken by the State to protect the health and morals of individuals. They declared that one may just as well object to the State exercising authority to shield human life from fell disease, though such

function necessarily implies the curtailment of personal liberty.

Test cases were instituted, and finally, in December, 1887, the United States Supreme Court decided that a State was within its right in safeguarding public health and morals, even by the destruction of property without compensation.

That pronouncement was a great triumph for prohibition, though to-day it does not sound at all revolutionary, for since then the state has armed itself with authority to interfere with personal liberty in other respects in order to ensure the common weal.

The lawyers employed by the liquor trade next sought to exploit the provisions in the United States Constitution reserving inter-State action to the United States Congress. In virtue of that provision, they contended, no State could prevent an inter-State railway company or carrier from conveying liquor to any point within its bounds from a point in a non-prohibition State. The United States Supreme Court upheld this contention and ruled that no State could prohibit the importation of liquor except by consent of the United States Congress. This meant that while a State could

stop the manufacture and sale of liquor, it could not prevent its importation.

Even though gross abuses resulted from such leakage into the "dry" States, yet prohibition produced remarkable results. Drunkenness and dissoluteness disappeared from the streets simultaneously with the closing down of the saloons which formerly were the centres of revelry and rioting. Misdemeanours of all kinds decreased. Cases of brawls and assaults grew fewer. Crimes of all degrees diminished. The police courts naturally presented an appearance far different to what they did under the old conditions. The number of neglected and maltreated wives and children was lowered, and families and individuals led healthier, happier lives.

The general improvement in prohibition areas was so patent that one could immediately see the difference between a "wet" and a "dry" area. For instance, Kansas City, Kansas, and Kansas City, Missouri, situated in different States but separated only by a river, presented a great contrast. Missouri was "wet" while Kansas was "dry". The improvement in public order and the material well-being of the people in Kansas City, Kansas, was so marked that Kansas City, Missouri, which, in 1913, had voted three

to one against Prohibition, decided, in 1917, to "go dry."

In the meantime, prohibitionists had succeeded in getting the United States Congress to pass a measure stopping leakage into the dry areas. The Webb-Kenyon law, placed upon the Statute book in 1913, made it illegal to import, from one state into another, liquor intended to be received, possessed, sold or in any manner used, either in the original package or otherwise, in violation of any law in force in the State into which it was being imported. Prohibitionists feared that the liquor interest would have this law declared unconstitutional. The legal fight ended on January 8, 1917, when the United States Supreme Court affirmed its constitutionality. Thenceforward no State could plead lack of power to stop the import of liquor.

By the middle of the first decade of the present century the "dry" area in the United States aggregated 2,000,000 square miles containing a population of 35,000,000 persons. More than half of the counties, more than sixty per cent of all the incorporated towns and villages, and nearly seventy per cent of all the townships in the country had, by that time, banned liquor.

So effective had the method of local option proved that, although South Dakota, Vermont and New Hampshire repealed their prohibition amendments, most of the territory in those States remained dry through the exercise of such option. It was estimated that through such action, the saloon had been driven out of more than fifty per cent of Minnesota, Indiana, Kentucky, Texas, Louisiana, Florida, and New Hampshire, and from various portions of California, Utah, Wyoming, New Mexico, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Ohio, New York, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, and Maryland.

The prohibition map of the United States showed, towards the middle of the last decade, that the movement had not made much headway in the Eastern States, which were, as a rule, more highly industrialised than any other part of the country. Maine was, indeed, the only State in the east which had driven out liquor. The movement had been more successful in the Middle West, considerable portions of which are industrialised. The prohibition strongholds were, however, in the Western and Southern States, where the people were largely employed in agriculture, dairying, stock-breeding, mining, and lumbering.

The movement made rapid progress in the Southern States, no doubt, because the "white" men were desirous of keeping strong drink away from the Negroes, while the Negro leaders themselves saw that prohibition would promote industry and thrift among their people and eliminate cases of assault and murder, which led to lynchings and race-riots.

The progress made by the movement in the first dozen years of the present century led the prohibition leaders to inaugurate, towards the end of 1913, a vigorous campaign for national prohibition. They knew that more than half of the Representatives in the Lower House, and the Senators in the Upper House, were put into power by people who, through local option or state action, had overwhelmingly declared themselves in favour of prohibition, and, therefore, it was to be expected that they would cast their votes in favour of submitting to the state legislatures a prohibition amendment to the United States Constitution.

Had the prohibition leaders sought to take such action prematurely it might have led to a recognition of the liquor traffic, which the United States Courts had refused to give. The United States Supreme Courts had, on the

contrary, repeatedly declared that no citizen had any inherent right to retail intoxicating liquors, and that, under the American form of government, the rights of the people, as a whole, are paramount, just as the rights of the people of a single State are superior to the rights of any city within the borders of the State. As the liquor trade had become highly organised and was fighting with its back to the wall, the prohibition forces had to take good care that, in pressing forward, they should not give it strategical advantage and enable it to strengthen its position.

The Anti-Saloon League launched its campaign for national prohibition at its fifteenth annual convention, held in November 1913. A month later a committee consisting of one thousand men and women was organised and, uniting with a similar committee of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, marched to the Capitol at Washington, D.C., and formally asked for the support of the members of the United States Congress in favour of the prohibition amendment, which they had jointly drafted.

The following day, the Hon. Richmond Pearson Morris introduced, in the House of

Representatives, the draft resolution providing for the submission to the State Legislatures of a prohibition amendment to the Constitution. The Hon. Morris Sheppard, Senator for Texas, about the same time introduced a similar resolution in the Senate. Both the Houses referred the resolution to their respective Judiciary Committees.

On December 22, 1914, the House of Representatives voted upon the question of submitting the amendment to the Legislatures of the States. Analysis of the votes shows:

For submission	197
Against ,,	189
Absent, paired or non-voting.....	47

Since such a resolution required a two-thirds majority, it was lost. A joint resolution asking for the submission of a prohibitory amendment was introduced simultaneously in both Houses in December 1915. The Judiciary Committees of both Houses favourably reported, but neither resolution came up before the sixty-fourth Congress, and they automatically lapsed when it rose.

The prohibitionists carried their appeal to the people and asked them to elect a Congress

pledged to carry out that measure. The nation responded so well that when, on December 18, 1917, the resolution came up before the House of Representatives, the Congressmen voted as follows:

For submission 282
Against „ 128

Analysis of the vote cast in the House showed the political wisdom of the prohibition leaders in making the issue entirely a non-partisan one. Of the Republicans, 137 voted for and 62 against. Of the Democrats, 141 voted for and 64 against. The one party-Prohibitionist voted for, the solitary Socialist voted against it.

FOR		AGAINST	
Democrats	141	Democrats	64
Republicans	137	Republicans	62
Independents	2	Independents	1
Prohibitionists	1	Socialists	1
Progressives	1		
Total for	282	Total against	128

The resolution had already been adopted in the Senate by a vote of 65 to 20. The necessary two-thirds majority having been secured, it was

submitted to the legislatures of the various States.

While the States were voting on this resolution the Federal Government, under the stress brought about by the war, was committing the country more and more to prohibition. Towards the end of 1918, for instance, Congress passed a measure providing for war-time prohibition, a law which became effective on July 1st, 1919. Prohibition for the District of Columbia, Alaska, Porto-Rico and the Hawaian Islands was also adopted.

The first State to ratify the amendment to the Federal Constitution was Mississippi. The Legislature of that State met on January 8, 1918, and on the same day ratified the amendment by a vote of 28 to 5 in the Senate and by a vote of 93 to 3 in the House.

The thirty-sixth State to ratify the amendment was Nebraska. The ratification resolution was passed by the Senate in that State on January 13, 1919, by a vote of 31 to 1, and passed the House on January 16, 1919, by a vote of 98 to 0.

Of these first thirty-six States to ratify the National prohibition amendment, 29 had already adopted State-wide prohibition, and the other

seven were under local option. Over 86 per cent of the population in these States was already alligned in the "dry" area.

On January 29, 1919, the acting Secretary of State issued a proclamation notifying that more than three-fourths of the whole number of States in the United States had ratified the following resolution:

JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following amendment to the Constitution be, and hereby is proposed to the States, to become valid as a part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of the several States as provided by the Constitution:

ARTICLE

"Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the

jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

"Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

"Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided by the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress."

In virtue of such ratification the amendment had become, on that date, valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States.

Of the 48 States composing the Union the only three which failed to ratify the amendment were Connecticut, New Jersey and Rhode Island. They constituted an area of 26,802 square miles out of an area of 2,973,890 square miles for Continental United States, and, according to the Census of 1910, comprised a population of 4,194,533 persons, out of a total population of 91,972,266 persons. These figures show that liquor was banished from the United States by legislative action taken by 45 States, which, between them, composed 99·7 per cent of

the total area of the United States, and contained 95 per cent of the population. What more convincing proof of the popularity of the movement can be adduced?

In spite of this crushing defeat, the liquor trade did not give up the struggle. They filed a test case in the attempt to have the amendment declared unconstitutional. The United States Supreme Court, in an unanimous decision delivered on June 7, 1920, however, declared that the amendment was constitutional, that it was within the power of Congress to pass the Volstead Enforcement Act, and that Congress did not exceed its power when it enacted the Volstead Law* limiting the alcoholic content of beverages to less than one-half of one per cent.

Another test case instituted with the object of getting the Supreme Court to declare the 18th amendment unconsitutional, on grounds of limitation of time, also failed. On May 16, 1921, that Court delivered a decision holding that the law was not invalidated by such limitation.

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*The United States Law Enforcement Code (The Volstead Law) was passed by the United States Congress over the veto of the President (Dr. Woodrow Wilson) in October 1919.

A ruling made on March, 1921, by the Hon. Mitchell A. Palmer, then Attorney-General of the United States, gave beer the same medical status as whiskey. The fact that beer may be "prescribed by the physician unfettered by Government control," is being interpreted as meaning that the brewery is to return, since, if beer of the old alcoholic strength may be prescribed without limitation, it follows as a matter of course that it may be manufactured also without limitation and that it will be distributed through illegitimate channels.

The calculations of such sanguine individuals have been upset by the following resolution passed at the annual convention of the American Association, comprising 80,000 of the foremost physicians in the United States, held at Boston in June 1921:

"Whereas; Reproach has been brought upon the medical profession by some of its members who have misused the law which permits the prescribing of alcohol, therefore, be it resolved that the American Medical Association expresses its disapproval of the acceptance by a small minority of the profession of being purveyors of alcoholic beverages."

In view of such a pronouncement, reputable doctors will find it difficult to further the

purposes of the liquor interests by prescribing alcoholic liquors.

The measures which the authorities are taking to put down transitional transgression of the prohibitory laws show that Americans are earnest in their desire to get rid of the liquor traffic.

CHAPTER III

EFFECT ON CAPITAL

NO one who knows Americans would attempt to explain the success of the prohibition movement by dwelling upon its purely moral aspect. They are a matter of fact people, used, in the first and last instance, to subjecting everything to the acid test of "Does it pay?"

Americans banned alcohol because they felt convinced that the consumption of liquor did not pay—from the point of view of either individual or national efficiency and prosperity. Efficiency is the god they worship. Nothing short of the conviction that drink, even in moderate quantities, handicapped the individual and the nation in the race of life would have compelled them to take the action that they did.

For decades prohibitionists had based their agitation against the liquor traffic upon purely moral and sociological grounds. They had declared that alcohol destroyed the soul, broke

up homes, and bred brutality and crime. Such arguments had, however, failed to secure universal state-wide, let alone nation-wide prohibition. As soon as they began to show the employers of labour—the big-business men—that drink lowered working capacity and led to accidents in the workshop, and cost them money to compensate the injured workers or the dependents of the employee killed in such accidents, they at once began to enlist in their favour a force which eventually helped them to victory.

About 25 years ago the American Railway Association, upon which the owners of 250,000 miles of railways in all parts of the United States are represented, framed a series of rules which they strongly urged the railway companies to adopt. One of these rules marked "G", forbade any employee engaged in "operative work"—that is to say any engineer (driver), fireman, conductor (guard), brakeman, signalman, etc.—from indulging in liquor while on or off duty.

Many of the railway companies adopted this rule. Some, however, refrained from enforcing it when the workers were off duty. A few of them would have nothing to do with it, because

they considered that it unwarrantedly interfered with the private habits of their employees.

Among the latter, perhaps the most unbending was the Lackawanna Railroad Company—one of the most powerful corporations in the country, with lines running through several of the Eastern States. Some years ago, however, it had to change its policy. Through the muddleheadedness of an engineer who, on his way to work, had looked upon the wine when it was red, a collission occurred near Corning (New York) which resulted in the death of 71 persons, including the entire operating crew of the train. The shareholders of the system were called upon to pay $1,500,000 as compensation for the killed and maimed.

That accident converted the railway company to the utility of Rule "G" laid down by the American Railway Association. Thenceforward it was amongst the companies which enforced it most rigidly.

Mr. W. E. Johnson relates the following incident to show how employers of large masses of workers were converted to prohibition. In 1916 he went to Butte, Montana, to assist in the fight then going on to ban liquor from that State. Soon after his arrival there he decided

that it would be advisable to secure the co-operation of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company—the largest copper mining company in the world, employing thousands of workmen. The prohibition leader went straight to the manager of the company. During a talk lasting almost two hours the Manager admitted that his company's pay roll in the City of Butte alone amounted to $1,500,000 per month and that the inefficiency caused by drink cost them one-tenth of that amount. If he could prove to his satisfaction that there was a chance for the "drys" to carry the State, he would promise that his concern would defy the liquor interests, who had got a strangle-hold upon their employees, as well as the officials and politicians in the State, and give whole-hearted support to the cause of prohibition.

The temperance crusader succeeded in convincing the manager, who proved to be as good as his word. The prohibitionists, in consequence, won by 30,000 majority.

Even before nation-wide prohibition came in, employers were beginning to realise how the banning of liquor from individual States was improving the efficiency of workers. The 4,000 workers in the Santa Fe railway shops in "dry"

Topeka, for instance, maintained the highest standard of efficiency of any shops in the system, turning out more work, "consistently and promptly the year round, than the men of any other railroad shops."

Shortly after national prohibition came in, the leading manufacturers of Detroit issued a circular in which they declared that it had proved "a most valuable contribution to industrial efficiency, higher productivity and conservation of man-power."

The attendance statistics issued by the Cadillac Motor Car Company showed that, under prohibition, there had been a decrease of 33 per cent in lateness among its employees, who numbered about 8,000 men, while there had been a decrease of 69 per cent in hours lost by absence on Mondays, and 44 per cent in time lost on other days. Similar testimony comes from all parts of the country.

The Voorees Rubber Manufacturing Company of Jersey City, New Jersey, and the Standard Underground Cable Company of Perth Amboy, in the same State, found that absentees after pay days were not so numerous as they were before the "dry" law went into effect. The record, in the case of the

latter company, showed a reduction of about 25 per cent.

The employers in Portland, Oregon declared as early as November, 1914, that their employees, formerly inclined to drink, had gained fully 25 per cent in efficiency under prohibition. That was especially true of logging camp operators.

Quarrels have decreased quite noticeably among the employees. Prohibition, has, generally speaking, much improved the temper and morale of the worker.

The decrease in the number of accidents since the inauguration of prohibition has been most remarkable. In Detroit, Michigan, for instance, the number of fatal industrial accidents decreased from 358 under the "wet" regime to 250 in the corresponding "dry" period-or 30 per cent; while non-fatal accidents fell from 18, 386 to 14,615-or 20 per cent.

The Bethlehem Ship-building Corporation, Ltd. of Elizabeth, New Jersey, found that while there were 797 cases of accidents in their works from October to the end of December 1919, in the first three months of 1920 the total was only 568 cases.

Mr. Winthrop D. Lane, who contributed an

illuminating article on prohibition in the "*Survey*" (New York) for November 6th, 1920, quoted figures secured from the Commissioner of Labour at Lansing, Michigan, showing that, in Kent County, accidents decreased from 226 in 1917 to 71 in 1918, in which year prohibition had been in effect for seven months.

This experience has proved so universal throughout the United States that it drew the following comment from an insurance journal:*

"In going over the figures for the past year compensation companies have noticed quite a reduction in the number of Monday morning accidents. This has been particularly noticeable since prohibition went into effect. The workman who would go along in the regular way during the week would very often stray from the straight and narrow path on Sundays or holidays. He would go on a tear on Sunday and report for work Monday in rather poor shape. He would be able to perform his duties well enough until about 11 o'clock when the effects of his fatigue would be most marked. Nearly all of the Monday morning accidents used to and still occur at 11 o'clock in the morning and 4 o'clock in the afternoon, called

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* *The National Under-writer*, August 1910.

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by the claim men the "fatigue hours." The resistance of the workman who is not in good shape is lowest at these two hours of the day.

"In other words, in the days when liquor was flowing freely workmen used to report on Monday morning with a "hang-over".....They are now reporting for duty in a more nearly normal condition and the result has been a material reduction in the number of Monday accidents."

The Hon. Sidney Catts, Governor of Florida, thus sums up the benefits which the employer of labour is reaping from prohibition. He declares that:

"In former years the majority of large corporations worked immense numbers of hands and they always feared the time from pay day, Saturday afternoon, until the bell rang for work Monday morning, as the men would draw their pay, go to the groggeries and blind tigers and get drunk, fight, curse, shoot, cut and create all kinds of disorder through Saturday night and Sunday. The women and children dared not come to town Saturday evening. Very few of the hands got to work before 12 o'clock Monday, while the bosses and managers were spending from 6 o'clock Monday until 12 M Monday, settling fines, getting all kinds of cases compromised on account of

drunken rows, etc. Now it is entirely different and the men themselves who used to drink are much better satisfied than formerly.

"Even the large corporations of the State are seeing the good effects of this change".

Mr. Capper, formerly Governor of Kansas, points out that in that State prohibition, as a strictly business matter, has paid big dividends. Its strongest advocates are "the large employers of labour, the managers of big railroad corporations, and the labour organisations."

The employers of labour have benefited from prohibition in another way. The saloon was a hot-bed of unrest. The lazy and inefficient persons gathered there, and their point of view on social and industrial questions prevailed.

The bartender usually led the discussion. He met all sorts of persons all day and heard all sorts of gossip. He poured his poisonous propaganda into the ear of the worker when he was tired and hungering for human companionship and, therefore, was in his most receptive mood, and was thus able to exert great influence over him by "peddling out prejudices."

According to Francis D. Campau, Counsel for the Furniture Manufacturers' Association, of Grand Rapids, Michigan, as reported in *The*

Survey of November 6, 1920, "the bartenders union had it in its power to boycott any factory in the city that it did not like by telling them not to work there, or to boost anyone that it favoured. They dispensed a cynical philosophy, which infected the producing class of the community." From that point of view, therefore, the abolition of the saloon was one of the greatest blessings that ever came to America.

The liquor interests had played upon the fears of producers of various commodities in the United States by telling them that their business would be ruined if the manufacture of liquor were banned. The farmers, for instance, were given to understand that the manufacture of intoxicants required, annually something like 188,000,000 bushels of grain; 152,000,000 gallons of molasses; 3,000,000 gallons of glucose syrup, 55,000,000 pounds of grape sugar, $752,000 worth of fruits and $11,000,000 worth of hops, and that, as soon as prohibition came, they would lose that market. This argument was so skilfully presented that not a few agriculturists believed that the liquor people were "the farmer's best friend," and that a condition approaching bankruptcy would result if their orders ceased to come to them.

Experience has proved that these fears were entirely groundless. Food-stuffs, which formerly went into the brewers' or distillers' vats, are, since the inauguration of prohibition, used as food.

One of the first effects of the "dry" policy was to raise the general standard of living, to make people who erstwhile had lived almost exclusively upon beans in order to find money for beer and whiskey vary their diet and eat fruits, foods in packages, and "fancy groceries." The farmer, in consequence, found a ready market at high prices for everything he had to sell.

Even the grape-growers, who had felt certain that their business would be ruined, began to prosper more than ever before. A great demand arose for unfermented grape-juice and other non-alcoholic drinks, and for grapes for table-use, jam, jelly, preserves and bottling.

The hop-growers are receiving a higher price for hops than in pre-prohibition days.

Many of the cheap restaurants went out of business soon after prohibition came in. The man who used to eat a 10 cent meal so as to save money for drink, now orders food costing 50 or 60 cents.

How can you cater for men who are "down

and out" when there are no men who are "down and out"?

The dairy industry has been greatly benefited by prohibition. There has been considerable increase in the consumption of milk in the homes. In cities coffee-drinking has become popular among men who used to step into a saloon for a glass of beer. Some have not taken to coffee, but drink their milk straight, or with the addition ef soda or seltzer. Sales of soda fountain drinks—all non-alcoholic, and in many of which a large or small quantity of milk is used—have increased, while the manufacture of ice-cream has grown to enormous proportions in every city and town.

As the Secretary of the National Dairy Union puts it in his quaint Americanese:

"Every dollar saved by the booze-bar, makes a dollar more in the family budget to be properly expended for milk for the babies.

"Every drink less whiskey means a drink more of milk.

"Every closed bar-room, means a chance for a new milk route or distributing depot.

"Every closed brewery, and distillery, means that much more grain for the dairy cows, the foster mothers of the human race",

Reports from various States show that sales of ice-cream have already increased 100 per cent; of butter and cheese, 100 per cent; of milk, 42 per cent; of coffee 25 per cent; and of candy (confectionary) 50 per cent.

The dairy-men find that, in addition to the increased sale of their products due to prohibition they derive advantage through the beneficial effects of sobriety among their employees, who are more dependable and regular than they used to be under the whiskey regime.

Next to eatables, the most notable increase in trade has been in the sale of shoes. The very first Saturday after the "dry" law went into effect in Omaha, Nebraska, there was an increased demand for shoes—chiefly children's—a demand which was very much larger the second Saturday. Within ten months after the triumph of prohibition in Seattle, Washington, a shoe company opened three new shops in buildings formerly occupied by five liquor shops. The President of that company stated that fifty per cent more children's shoes and, as a rule, a better quality of shoes, are being bought now than when the wealth of the nation was being poured into the saloon-keeper's till.

Clothing in much greater quantities and of far better and finer quality is being sold throughout the country than before prohibition. This is not due to extravagance produced by the sudden possession of money, but to the ever rising standard of living, which makes the erstwhile poor person refuse to be contented with the shoddy of the "wet" period.

The volume of business transacted by many department stores (largely shops) increased by 35 to 40 per cent during the latter half of the year following the coming in of prohibition as compared with the "wet" half. In Omaha, Nebraska, a large department store made 200 sales to new customers of neckties, collars, handkerchieves, etc., on the second Saturday after the dry law went into effect. In New York the men go on "shopping jags" on Saturday afternoons and stagger home under a load of necessaries and luxuries for the family instead of reeling under the influence of drink.

The situation is not without its humorous side. A tailor in a Western city, for instance, made nearly a hundred dollars in three months after prohibition went into effect sewing tucks in the waistbands of the trousers of men

whose bloated abdomens had been reduced by total abstinence from drink.

The effect of prohibition upon the milinery trade has been so great that a Seattle miliner who employed three girls in a small shop, rented a large building and, by the close of the first "dry" year, was employing 35 girls and a squad of men.

The laundries, which the liquor interests declared, would be doomed if America went "dry," because they depended for their trade, to a large extent, upon bartender's aprons, are doing a greater volume of business than ever before. Families in which the women had previously to do the washing now send it to the laundry to be done, because the husbands bring their money home instead of squandering it at the saloon. Women who, in the old days, were forced to leave their families and go out to do washing by the day for other people because their men folk were drinking up their money, are now staying at home and taking care of their children. It is, therefore, almost impossible to secure the services of a washwoman, and the washing has to be sent to the laundry instead of being done at home.

In some cases labour-saving laundry plants

have been installed. That has resulted in the building up of a large business in home-laundry machinery. It has also greatly increased the business of electric companies furnishing power.

The jeweller's trade has never known such prosperity as has come to it under prohibition. All over the United States the working men, small merchants and farmers are buying diamonds, watches, and silver for their homes.

Every form of innocent amusement is also profiting. Both the legitimate stage and the cinema are enjoying an unprecedented prosperity because of the abolition of the saloon. Mr. Marcus Loew, head of a great chain of theatres stretching across the American Continent, is quoted as saying that since prohibition the receipts have quadrupled.

Prohibition is giving prosperity to the matinee (afternoon) performances which it never before had. Heretofore few men have attended the matinee, which was patronised chiefly by women. To-day the commercial men and tourists who, in the old days, would have spent the afternoon in a hotel bar-room, drinking cocktails to while the time away, are going to the theatre, and the receipts from matinee performances are steadily rising. New theatres

and cinemas are being built on valuable sites, and the existing buildings are being improved.

Some of the time which men used to waste in the saloons is now being spent in gardening, and in consequence the seedsmen, nurserymen and makers and retailers of gardening tools are profiting from increased trade. A great deal of money is also being spent upon holiday outfits of all kinds, including touring cars, tents, and camping, travelling and sporting requisites of every description.

Since much of the time which men used to while away in the saloons is now being spent at home, the circulation of popular magazines is rapidly increasing.

The experience of the Denver Labour Bulletin, the official paper of the Colorado State Federation of Labour, proves that the papers are not losing, in the long run, through prohibition. With the opening of the "dry era" in that State it lost about $50 a month in liquor advertising, and about 350 subscribers who were employed in the liquor industry. At the end of the first "dry" year in Colorado its books showed however, that it had done four times its usual advertising business, and had on its mailing (postal) list three times as many subscribers as

when Denver had three hundred and fifty saloons and five breweries working. The advertisers and subscribers, moreover, paid their bills much more promptly.

If anybody expected that the revenue of hotels would fall off under prohibition, he has been disillusioned. The revenue from liquor, amounting to from 5 to 10 per cent of the general income of the hotel, has been made up by "side lines" such as the barber shop, sweets stand, souvenir stall, magazine and newspaper stands, taxi service, and turkish baths. In some instances these "side lines" have returned twice as much net profit to the hotel as was produced by the combined bar and wine and beer trade during the year prior to the coming of prohibition. Aside from the "side lines" the hotels have profited immensely. People are travelling about for business and pleasure more than they used to do, and are willing and able to pay more for rooms, and for the meals they eat in the hotel restaurants and grill-rooms; as a consequence hotels everywhere are improving and enlarging their accommodation.

The cheap lodging houses, where, for five or ten cents a night, the saloon "bum" could lay his be-fuddled head on a dirty verminous pillow

in an unventilated cubicle that was like a prison cell in size and general appearance, are going out of business. Sober men are not willing to sleep in these filthy dens, but go to decent hotels, or live in permanent lodgings, or in homes of their own. Within a year the number of transient rooming houses decreased by 85 per cent in Denver, Colorado.

The brewers, distillers, and vendors of intoxicating liquors were the ones who, every one expected, would suffer the most through prohibition. No one, therefore, was more surprised than they at the turn affairs took after prohibition came in. Former breweries and distilleries are now manufacturing denatured or industrial alcohol, vinegar, malted milk, "soft" drinks, ice-cream, maraschind cherries, preserves, jams, syrup, sugar, flour, and other equally harmless products.

Take Washington, D. C., for instance. There were three breweries in that City. One was turned into a "soft" drink factory. Another—the National Capitol Brewery, which employed about 50 men and used raw materials to the value of $130,000 annually—was transformed into an ice-cream factory employing 150 workers and using raw materials to the value of

$400,000 annually. Instead of turning out 65,000 barrels of beer it is making 800,000 gallons of ice-cream each year—more than one-fourth of the ice-cream used by Washington. It may be noted in passing that the consumption of ice-cream has doubled since prohibition went into effect. In only one instance did a Washington brewery go entirely out of business and that was because the family who owned it had made so much money it decided to retire.

That record has been repeated all over the country, with slight variations in details.

The houses which served as saloons were readily rented, usually at enhanced valuation. In New York City, for instance, the value of one site formerly devoted to the liquor traffic has increased from $20,000 to 50,000. At 6th Avenue and 42nd Street six shops in a former saloon building are paying 300 per cent more in rentals than the saloon did.

One New York saloon was converted into a toy shop. A hotel bar has become a "book-lover's tavern" where men may drop in, read books free, play billiards, and do as they please, whether they buy books or not. One drink shop has been turned into a Public kitchen. The saloon formerly known as "Hell's Kitchen"

is now "The Way Side Lunch Room." A Park Avenue Hotel Bar is an oyster restaurant. Two hundred saloons have been converted into places for "automat" films. A Bowery* bar-room, where men used to buy drink which unfitted them for work and made them lose their jobs, is now an employment agency which finds work for them.

In other cities bars have been transformed into cigar stores, nurses centres, general stores, bakeries, tea rooms, banks, clubs, and similar establishments. One was even occupied, during the recent influenza epidemic, by students of public health nursing who were guarding the section of the city in which it was situated.

The record of Grand Rapids, Michigan, is typical of that of other cities. There were 160 saloons in that city. In 2 years 145 of them had been replaced by

37 "soft" drink parlours;
26 billiard or pool rooms;
12 restaurants and lunch rooms;
9 sweet shops;
9 groceries;

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* The Bowery is the slum quarter of New York corresponding to Whitechapel in London.

4 branch banks;
3 barber shops;
3 shops selling motor tyres;
2 boot shops;
2 news stands and tobacco shops;
2 wall paper and paint shops;
2 five and ten-cent shops;
2 chemist shops;
2 card rooms;
2 clothes-pressing and tailoring establishments;
2 wholesale fruit and produce shops;
1 pawn shop, and 25 miscellaneous wholesale and retail establishments.

Of the remaining 15 former saloon buildings 9 were vacant, 1 was being torn down, and the plot on which another had stood was being excavated for a new building. One saloon had been the bar-room of a hotel, and had been entirely discontinued, while 3 were unaccounted for.

One billion (thousand million) dollars worth of property has been converted from the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors to useful purposes. This transformation has been effected with little or no loss to the owners, without labour disturbances, and with no perceptible

fluctuation in business except for the unprecedented increase in the profits of every legitimate trade due to the diversion of the money theretofore spent over the saloon bar into useful, productive channels.

The banishment of liquor has brought prosperity to landlords. Within a few months the best sites that had been occupied by saloons were rented at an enhanced value. In Denver, Colorado, for instance, when the "dry" law went into effect there were, altogether, 705 vacant shop buildings, including 463 that had been used for selling liquor. Six months later there were only 51 vacant business premises in the city. Whereas in the "wet" days only about three fifths of the rents were paid when due, after the saloons closed 95 per cent of them were paid in time.

In Binghampton, New York, real estate values have increased from 50 to 90 per cent, and renttals on the principal business streets have increased 20 per cent.

The total receipts of the Mutual Building and Loan Association of Grand Rapids, Michigan, increased, in the first quarter of 1920, by more than 50 per cent as compared with the same period the previous year, while the stock of the

Association that was sold increased by nearly 90 per cent.

These conditions have produced a "boom" in the insurance business. In Grand Rapids, Michigan, two agents of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company estimated the increase in the insurance business at about 20 per cent. The number of industrial policies in force in a single Grand Rapids office in that town rose from 4,044 in 1917 to 7,398 to the end of August 1920. Men who never before had enough money to insure their property and lives are going in for insurance, while others are buying policies of a higher weekly or yearly premium.

Prohibition has proved to be the greatest possible stimulant to business in general. Indeed, even the most sanguine optimist would not have dared to predict that its effect upon trade and commerce would have been so far-reaching.

A wholesale plumber in Baltimore, Maryland, for instance, dilating upon its results, declared:

"Prohibition has affected my business in this way: Accounts are now settled in 30 days that formerly went to 4 months, and men whom we had to cut off as unworthy of credit are again good customers. Formerly my books were loaded down

with bad accounts but just the other day when we were getting out monthly statements I was struck with the fact that the books were nearly clean. There are two accounts that could be called bad, but they are not hopeless."

Furniture dealers in Boston State that their payments have been wonderful under prohibition. Where formerly they had up to 12 per cent of bad debts, now they have no bills, and people are purchasing better furniture. Collections are up to 35 per cent better than they were before.

The collection agencies which, in the old days, flourished in every American city are scarcely to be heard of now. The Secretary of the Retail Credit Men's Association of Denver, Colorado, stated that in the first "dry" year—1916, in that State—collections in department stores were 25 per cent better.

As the result of savings effected through prohibition and the increased volume of business, of every description, transacted the bank clearings have increased enormously. as shown in a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER IV

IMPROVEMENT IN LABOUR CONDITIONS.

As soon as the large employers of labour became converted to the "dry" doctrine, the employees who had formerly jeered at the total abstainer for "riding on the water waggon" and "drinking buttermilk," immediately ceased to poke fun at him. On the contrary, they took care that their employer did not find out that they indulged in liquor while off duty.

When in the United States, long before national prohibition was adopted, I used to be greatly amused at the stratagems employed by young clerks to disguise the smell of liquor on their breath and other tell-tale signs of such indulgence. These little deceptions did not fit in with the independence of character which, I had been taught to believe, distinguished Americans.

It was, indeed, a source of perpetual surprise to me that the owners and managers of works who insisted upon their employees refraining from partaking of liquor on pain of dismissal, should be able to obtain all the skilled and unskilled labour that they needed, and even to refuse admission to a large overflow. I should have thought that the men would have refused to permit themselves to be dictated to, and would have boycotted such factories, or at any rate that they would have grumbled at what must have appeared to them as plutocratic high-handedness and unpardonable interference with that inalienable right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" which is the first principle laid down in the Declaration of Independence.

To my great surprise I heard, however, very little complaint from the workmen. I found, on the contrary, that most workers, and not a few of the labour leaders, realised that total abstinence was as much in the interests of the employee as that of the employer.

Take, for instance, the question of accidents on railways, and in factories and mills, which, to so large an extent, were caused by drink. Whereas the employer had merely to find

money to compensate the employee who was maimed through it, the worker suffered the loss of one or more limbs or was otherwise incapacitated. Had he the choice of receiving the money or having his limb restored to him, he would naturally vote for the latter.

The collision at Corning (New York), to which reference was made in the preceding chapter, resulted in horrible loss of life among the train crew and led the railway men to realise the necessity of observing the rule laid down by the Railway Association prescribing abstinence for railway operatives on and off duty. The brotherhoods into which these employees were united for the purpose of protecting and furthering their interests—namely, the Engineer's Brotherhood, the Conductor's Brotherhood, and the Firemen's and Switchmen's Brotherhood—passed resolutions banning liquor.

The conversion of these large Railway Brotherhoods to prohibition gave a great impetus to the "dry" policy among wage-workers. Other unions passed similar resolutions, and gradually the movement extended in the labour world until few labour leaders dared openly to range themselves with the liquor interests.

The workers' wives and mothers knew that a

teetotal husband or son brought his pay envelope home instead of spending it, on the way, at a saloon, and that he spent more time at home and was not so quarrelsome. They, therefore, aided the movement, in every manner they could.

The reformers, with all these influences working in their favour, found it difficult to win over the workers, because the liquor interests conducted their campaign so cleverly as to make working people feel that prohibition would prejudice their interests. If the breweries and saloons were closed, it was represented, thousands of men and women would be thrown out of employment.

Such pernicious propaganda was broadcasted not only through the bartenders, brewery workers, and persons connected with other crafts allied with the liquor traffic, but also through the labour press, which was given advertising. The trade sought to "get on the soft side" of labour leaders by lavishly entertaining the delegates to labour conventions.

The facts were, however, all against the liquor interests, which employed fewer wage-earners than any other industry in proportion

to the amount of capital invested. According to the United States Census for 1910, there were 62,920 persons engaged in the manufacture of intoxicating liquor with a capital of two billion (two thousand million) dollars, while 493,655 persons were employed in the manufacture of bread and clothing, with the same capital. In other words, the bread and clothing industries gave employment to eight times the number of wage-earners employed by the liquor interests. The bread and clothing industries required five times as much raw materials as the liquor interests; and paid five and a half times as much wages as they did.

The prohibitionists showed further, that one million dollars invested in the manufacture of liquor employed only 77 wage-earners, whereas the same amount of capital invested in the manufacture of iron and steel employed 284; paper and printing, 367; leather, 469; textiles, 578; and timber, 579 persons. In proportion to the capital invested, the wages paid in the liquor business amounted to only 5·6 per cent; whereas in the case of iron and steel it amounted to 17·6 per cent; paper and printing, 21·3 per cent; leather, 23·5 per cent; textiles, 23·8 per cent; and timber, 27·1 per cent.

The death-rate among brewery workers in the United States was 52 per cent higher than the normal rate, while among the waiters in saloons and other establishments where liquor was served, it was 75 per cent higher.

The National Committee of the Socialist Party appointed a special committee of five members, a few years ago, to investigate the liquor traffic. It came to the conclusion that the degree of exploitation in the liquor industry was greater than in any other phase of the capitalist system. The exploitation in all the industries of the United States, it reported, averaged 48·83 per cent ; in the liquor business it went up to 70 per cent. The report continued :

"In addition to the exploitation of labour in the production of alcoholic liquors, which is the highest of all capitalist industries, the liquor traffic still further exploits labour in excessive charge (compared to the cost of production) for the liquor when retailed to the consumer, and what is worst of all, exploits the working class through the evil effects resulting from the use and abuse of alcoholic drinks."

Actual experience, especially in the States of Colorado, and Washington, proved that the

workers had much to gain and nothing to lose from the extinction of the liquor traffic. The period of unemployment and low wages, which had been predicted, did not materialise in prohibition States. Attendance at labour union meetings grew larger and more regular, and the union dues were paid more promptly. Within a few months of the inauguration of prohibition in a town or state labour leaders in that town or state had to acknowledge that the abolition of saloons was helpful, and not harmful, to working people.

An instance may be given to show how the trade union movement benefited from prohibition. At the time Shreveport, Louisiana went "dry," it had 1,800 trade unionists in it. Ten years later there were 3,700 organised workers there. Electrical workers who had, in the "wet" regime received $ 3·50 for a nine hour day were being paid $ 4·50 for an eight-hour day. Carpenters were receiving 55 cents an hour, while in Duluth, Minnesota, which had 180 saloons they were receiving only 45 cents an hour.

Shreveport had a brewery, in the "wet" period, which employed six non-union brewery workers who received $ 12·50 per week. Under

prohibition the building was turned into an ice plant providing employment to 40 union ice-makers who received $ 25 a week. New Orleans, in the same State, with 2,200 saloons and 500 "blind pigs," had one of the lowest wage scales in the country.

A statistical table compiled some time ago by the Bartenders' International Union from reports received from their local unions, showed that in "wet" Cincinnati—the headquarters of the Union—bartenders were receiving $ 14 per week "with board" and $ 17·50 per week "without board," whereas in "dry" Seattle the members of the organisation employed in "soft" drink establishments, received $ 25 a week, in "dry" Denver they received $ 21 a week, and in "dry" Spokane $ 19·95 a week.

As the cause of prohibition progressed, labour leaders in State after State bore testimony to its beneficent effect upon the workers.

The President of the Washington Federation of Labour, commenting upon the rapid strides made in organising the hitherto unorganised workers, declared that it was possible to "reason with sober men, they respond quicker to argument."

The President of the Arizona State Federa-

tion of Labour stated that "Arizona workers are certainly better morally and financially than before prohibition was adopted, and always in shape to fight for better working conditions."

The President of the Oregon State Organisation wrote that he had always opposed the adoption of prohibition because he felt it was an infringement of his personal rights. Since it had become a law in his State, however, the benefits derived had been so great that he could not help championing the cause.

The President of the Denver Trades and Labour Assembly expressed the opinion that it was not possible to "pick up a corporal's guard of "dry" unionists in Colorado who would vote for the return of the saloon". Whereas workers bought whiskey before, they were "now putting the money into shoes for the babies."

The Deputy Organiser of the American Federation of Labour and Business Agent of the Carpenters' Union of Wallace, Idaho, was equally emphatic in regard to the beneficent results of prohibition. "Ten years ago our town boasted of 37 saloons," he stated, "and if any one mentioned prohibition he was laughed at." Now, however, "if a vote were taken, this district would vote dry," because "the working

men now have bank accounts; the banks, not saloons are crowded on Saturday nights."

In June 1916, a Trade Union Dry League was organised in Duluth, Minnesota, by 400 union men who pledged themselves to help in the campaign to make that town go dry." This organisation appealed to the working man, on solid, economic grounds, in language he could understand. Later similar Trade Union Dry Leagues were organised in a number of States, and they were federated into a National Organisation.

In September 1920, before prohibition had been in operation a year, Mr. W. E. Johnson sent out letters to well-known men and women all over the United States, asking them for a personal statement regarding the effect of prohibition upon the conditions of work-people. The replies left no room for doubt as to the results of the measure.

The Secretary of the American Seamen's Friend Society of New York wrote, for instance, that there had been an increase in sailors savings, and in the quality and quantity of their belongings, as well as a finer look to their faces.

The Secretary-Treasurer of the National Hay

Association stated that he had noticed, in driving through the country and through the sections of cities where the labouring men lived, that the homes were in better shape, the fences were up and painted, the houses were clean and neat, the coal bins were filled, as well as the potato and flour bins, where formerly the working man would buy a half ton of coal and a 25-pound sack of flour, "and the childrens feet were on the ground and the poor, little wife worked down to a shadow."

The President and Manager of the North Western Credit Association of Seattle Washington replied that conditions in that city had improved tremendously. "A corresponding amount of the money that went across the bar and into the till of public parasites,—saloon-owners, bartenders, kept-women, etc.—across the green tables and into the pockets of professional gamblers, crooks and licentious gentry in general," he wrote, "now goes for payment of larger groceries bills,...better wearing apparel for the wives and the kiddies, etc." He added that "probably better than all else, public self respect has been raised in direct proportion to the shrinkage in alcoholic indulgence."

The Secretary of the Mutual Association of

Mercantile Adjusters, Detroit, Michigan, stated that whereas, before prohibition a condition of privation and destitution prevailed among the members, now " a highly satisfactory, prosperous condition " prevailed. He added that " old debts are being paid, children received the nourishment, clothes, comforts and in many cases some little recreation which former conditions made impossible. Continuing in this strain, he declared

" Complete furnishing of the home, better domestic relations and a reversal from semi-poverty to personal savings accounts and ownership of homes all point to the wisdom of continuance of the present policy with the addition of a more stringent judicial supervision to further eliminate the source of supply to-day."

If, for no other reason, the extravagant price charged for illicit whiskey is making it impossible for workers to indulge in liquor, made mostly from wood alcohol (methylated spirits) a quart of it costs 16 dollars and even more—a price which few working people can afford to pay.

The very names by which the illicit liquors are known show how deleterious they are. One is called " Pride of the Cemetery", another

"Wild Cat." A number of persons have died from drinking the poisonous liquor, which, in itself, has had a deterrent effect.

As the result of prohibition, where, under the liquor regime there used to prevail a condition of semi-privation among the working classes, one now finds rapidly increasing prosperity, which is showing itself in improved houses, better clothes, and better care of the children. Old debts are being paid. Money is being saved. Banking accounts are being opened.

If the conditions which existed in the old days are visualised, it is easy to understand how this change is coming about. Before prohibition came in, the general practice in manufacturing towns was for working men to buy drinks on credit, and the amount was deducted from the pay cheque when they took it to the saloon to be cashed on their way home from work on pay day. They would, more than likely, celebrate the occasion by drinking more freely than usual and treating others to drinks. It would thus happen that at the end of the week or the month, as the case might be, the man would find that he had little left after the score was settled. The result was that the wife got only a small portion of the

wages with which to "keep the home fires burning."

Under the new "dry" system, the workman brings his cheque home intact and gives it to his wife, who takes it next the day to a bank, where she cashes it, and leaves as much of it in a savings account as she can spare from current expenses. There has been, in consequence, a great increase in savings deposits.

In Seattle, Washington, for instance, bank deposits increased, during the first prohibition year, by $ 18,000,000 or 21 per cent, and bank clearings by over $ 177,000,000 or 29 per cent.

In Portland, Oregon, the bank clearings amounted to $ 578,884,018 in 1914. The year after State-wide prohibition came in—1916—they increased to $ 649,995,241. By 1917 they had risen to $ 868,331,422. In 1918 they amounted to $ 1,349,980,892. In 1919 they rose to $ 1,652,950,820. The first four months of 1920 they were $ 617,396,012; indicating that, in that year, the total would be greatly in excess of the war years, proving that the increase was not entirely the result of war activities, as some anti-prohibitionists sought to make out.

In San Francisco, California, the amount of

savings deposits increased from $ 282,707,461·31 in 1918 to $ 312,532,129·53 in 1919. In Oakland, California, the amount rose from $ 56,724,114 to $ 70,262,833. The Oakland Bank Clearing House is authority for the statement that there had been an increase of about $ 18,000,000 in savings deposits since prohibition went into effect on July 1,1919. The increase in San Jose, California, was equally startling. In 1917, a "wet" year, the amount of savings bank deposits was $ 15,108,716, while in the fiscal year ending November 30,1919, a "dry" year, they had jumped to $ 35,589,114. The increase in one bank alone in Vallejo, California, was $ 369,716·37. In Fresno, California, five months after prohibition went into operation the savings bank deposits increased by $ 2,362,668.

In Denver, Colorado, the total increase in the deposits amounted to $ 29,000,000 or 16 per cent. The Clearing House Association reported that during the first nine months of prohibition the largest clearings of any time in the history of the city had passed through its hands, an increase of more than $10,000,000 a month over the preceeding year. During the first "dry" month 2,050, and in the first "dry" year 20,000 new savings accounts were opened in

Denver. The Governor of Colorado is authority for the statement that the number of new savings bank accounts throughout the State during the first two years of prohibition increased by 119,000.

In Minneapolis, Minnesota, during the first month of prohibition, more than 15,000 new savings accounts were opened, the average deposit on the new accounts being $ 65 per person. The total gain in savings deposits during that month was more than $ 11,000,000. The deposits increased from $ 30,106,389 to $ 38,755,550 in the first year, while the amount of savings bank deposits in four months ending November, increased from $ 438,023 in 1918 to $ 3,027,527 in 1919.

From Chicago, Illinois, comes the report of a tremendous increase in deposits, aggregating $400,000,000, which is attributed, in a considerable measure, to prohibition.

In Grand Rapids, Michigan, it was estimated that the number of savings bank depositors rose from 87,000 in 1916 to 120,000 in 1920, and the amount of money on deposit rose from $23,000,000 in the former year, to $34,000,000 on the first "dry" year.

Time deposits increased in Philadelphia,

Pennsylvania, over $ 1,000,000, and demand deposits over $43,000,000.

In Baltimore the savings bank deposits increased over $1,600,000 during the first ten weeks after America went "dry."

Mr. Howard M. Smith, President of the Brevoort Savings Bank, New York City, recently stated that "a number of people have come to us to say that this is the first money they have ever saved, and that before prohibition all their excess earnings went into drink." Mr. Henry M. Schenck, President of the Bowery Savings Bank, in the same city, is reported to have said that he "does not doubt that prohibition has had a great deal to do with our increased savings deposits."

According to the Hon. John Skelton Williams, Comptroller of Currency of the United States Government, from June 30,1919, to November 17, 1919—a period of less than five months—the increase in savings deposits in the national banks of the United States was $ 1,422, 883,000. During that short period 880,949 new accounts were opened. These figures do not take into account the increase in the number of deposits in the State and private banks, which is known to be far greater than that in the national

banks. In May 1921, the savings accounts in the 30,000 banks of the country, according to the Treasury Department at Washington, totalled $ 500,000,000. They had more than doubled in four years, in spite of widespread unemployment and a general commercial and industrial depression.

Special attention needs to be called to the manner in which prohibition is promoting prosperity among the Negroes. A recent report from Washington stated that they owned in 1920 property worth $1,100,000,000, whereas in 1909 their wealth aggregated only about $ 570,000,000, a part of such increase being undoubtedly due to the "dry" regime, which, in the days of State-wide prohibition and local option, made more rapid progress in the South, where the Negroes are concentrated, than in the North. Hundreds and thousands of Negroes who formerly owned straggling patches of poor cotton now cultivate large plots of strong, sturdy plants. It is interesting in this respect to note the report from Georgia that, under prohibition, the people stayed at home and worked their crops, with the result that that State had the largest crop of cotton and corn ever known in history.

The Indians, too, have to be thankful for the operation of the "dry" law. With the disappearance of drunkenness, they are applying themselves to farming, stockraising and other industries. Their standard of living is rising with increasing prosperity.

CHAPTER V.

SOCIAL EFFECTS.

IT had been predicted that, under prohibition, clubs would have to be disbanded, as drink was the bond that held men together in such social association. In actual practice, however, prohibition is stimulating their membership and prosperity.

The banishment of liquor, instead of being a "kill-joy," has really increased the capacity to enjoy life. The "dry" law killed "boozing," but did not do away with pleasure.

The lights are still bright on Broadway. There are plenty of bowling alleys and billiard halls. The restaurants are packed to the doors with merry laughing crowds. The hotels are overcrowded. The theatres and cinemas are full and running over. Throngs of people flock to baseball, prize fights and tournaments.

The only difference is that liquor is absent. People drink coffee and tea and milk and

soda-water and cordials instead of intoxicants. And they are all the better for it.

Experience has proved that it was light, and music, and noise, and excitement, and desire for human companionship, which lured men and women to the saloon. They are quite happy if these cravings are satisfied, even if liquor is absent. The problem of supplying amusement to take the place of drink has not, therefore, proved so serious as might have been expected. All that is necessary is to substitute for liquor and the social amenities of the saloon, music, dancing, acting, pleasant conversation, facilities for debate, moving pictures, anything that will induce hilarity and cheerfulness, laughter and boisterous merriment in persons who are used to depend upon alcohol to induce a spirit of gaiety in human intercourse.

A systematic effort is being made to provide the various facilities which the public houses formerly offered. Large numbers of men, for instance, patronised the drink shops merely for the purpose of using the toilet facilities freely offered there, and took a drink while passing through the bar-room, as the only means of paying for the convenience. Public lavatories are now supplying that need.

Another saloon attraction was the "free lunch" of a tempting character. It has been realised that establishments serving temperance drinks can furnish the same kind of a free luncheon upon precisely the same basis. If it was possible to provide a sandwich with a glass of beer and still make a profit, it is possible to serve it with a glass of lemonade.

Drinking fountains are being provided to enable thirsty persons to quench thirst which used to drive them into the drink shop.

The prostitutes have disappeared with liquor. You can roam about New York or Washington until one o'clock in the morning and you will not meet a street walker unless you hunt diligently for one.

The men who used to spend their leisure at the saloon, getting into all sorts of mischief, now stay at home in the evenings with their wives and children. They spend their holidays mending furniture, painting the exterior of their houses, gardening and otherwise beautifying their home surroundings. When they grow tired of sitting on their front porch and chatting with their neighbours, they take the family out for a picnic—often in their own motor-car, bought with the money that used to go to the

drink seller—or take them to theatres or cinemas.

Nerves soothed by such recreation, and relief from financial worry which formerly was caused by the wasting of money upon drink and other evils associated with it, are having a visible effect upon the family relations. Domestic discord is disappearing. Conjugal felicity is increasing. Better care is being taken of the children.

The Head of the Complaint Department of the Court of Domestic Relations of the Chicago Municipal Court noted that there was a decrease of more than 400 complaints during the first three months under prohibition. Previous to July 1,1919, approximately 60 per cent of the complaints received could be traced to the effect of whiskey upon the husband. Most of the complaints regarding non-support of the wife and family, which now come before the Court are found to be due to strikes or shortage of work.

The Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago had 116 complaints, in the summer of 1918, from wives whose husbands, under the influence of drink, maltreated them or failed to support their families. In the summer of 1919

only—21 such complaints were received—a decrease of 82 per cent.

In Grand Rapids, Michigan, wife-desertion showed a reduction from 33 cases during the two years preceding prohibition to 14 cases during the two following year; and non-support from 91 to 53 cases.

Social workers in Detroit, Michigan, made a special survey to discover the effect of prohibition upon family life. Some of the results of that investigation deserve to be noted.

One family was found where, a few years ago, the husband drank up most of his wages, giving his wife five dollars, or two dollars, or nothing at all, as he cared to spare from his pay. She had children to take care of, and used to go out washing or do any work she was offered to keep the pot boiling. They were paying their little house on time, and once fell six months behind in the payment. To-day everything is different. The family debts are all paid. The husband and wife go out together, and have started life anew.

Another family, in 1916, was in dire distress. The husband was lazy, irresponsible and addicted to drink, and had been sent to jail for non-payment of debt. They had had much

sickness and owed $ 238 to their doctor, and had been served with eviction papers. Every winter the family had to be supported at the expense of the rate-payers. Three weeks before prohibition went into effect the husband made $ 10·50 but spent $ 8 in the saloon before he got home. Ten days after prohibition went into effect a visitor called and found the husband painting a picture —he had nothing else to do to while away the time after the saloons were closed. Before a year had elapsed he was steadily employed at a salary of $ 32·50 per week with the prospect of a rise in the near future. The same investigation showed that the arrests in Detroit for non-support of family fell from 693 to 453—or 49 per cent—after prohibition came in.

An instance may be cited to show how prohibition is joining many husbands and wives and fathers and children in new bonds of association and happiness. A Lithuanian in Grand Rapids, Michigan, and his wife led such drunken dissolute lives that their children had been removed from their unwholesome influenee and placed in institutions. After prohibition had been in operation a few months the hearts of the sobered parents yearned for their little

ones and they begged that they might be allowed to return to them. A probation officer visited their home and found conditions so greatly improved that the children were restored to them.

Miss Mary Beard of Boston, President of the National Organisation for Public Health Nursing, related an instance to an investigator to show the beneficent effects of prohibition upon domestic life. Her organisation received a call to visit a family when three children were ill with measles. The mother, children and home were in a destitute condition. There was little food, no bedding and the necessaries of life were all lacking. The man was a confirmed drunkard. He seemed not to care that his children had no food, and he made no attempt to better conditions. Then the "bone dry" law went into operation. Almost immediately the man went to work. Soon he decided that his neighbours were not fit for his family to associate with, and moved to a better neighbourhood. To-day his wife and children are well clothed, the house is well furnished, and the whole standard of living has risen so far as that family is concerned.

Another Bosten case may be mentioned

because it is typical. A coal teamster's wife, driven to desperation by her hard life, jumped into the river in 1916, but was rescued. After prohibition came in a visitor found the family living in an excellent neighbourhood instead of the squalid street where they had dwelt for years. The father had returned home and was working steadily. The home, formerly bare and untidy, was well kept and attractively furnished. There was a telephone and a phonograph.

Mr. Colin H. Livingstone, President of the Boy Scouts of America, in writing to Mr. Johnson in 1921, thus described a typical incident that came under his personal notice:

"Early in July of this year while sitting in a barber's chair in one of New York's greatest hotels, I was asked by the barber what I thought of the chances of a wet plank in the Democratic platform then being discussed in San Francisco. I answered that I did not expect it possible to get a wet plank in the Democratic platform any more than it had been possible to get one in the Republican platform, and that the sentiments of the majority of people were entirely opposed to the revival of the liquor raffic." He surprised me by answering.

"'You express my sentiments. A year ago I was

ready to fight anybody who would defend prohibition. Now I am reconciled to it and happy that we have prohibition.' "

I asked him why he had so changed his attitude. He answered,

" 'I used to spend all my money upon liquor whenever I had a change. I did not give my family half enough to live on. I have a wife and three young sons. I used to go home like a beast full of whiskey, make a big row, frighten my wife and children sometimes out of the house and stay from my work for a day or two until I got back to myself again. Now I have over $1,500 in the Bank. My wife and family are well clad and as happy as can be. It makes me shudder to think what would have become of my three boys had prohibition not come to us. I cannot bear to think that these three boys of mine might have grown up to have been beasts like I was. We are looking forward to the building and owning of our own home in the near future and the happiness of this prospect and realization is more than I ever had out of all the liquor that I ever drank. My brother is in the same position as I am and we both were pretty tough characters when we could get liquor at almost every corner. I tell you Mister, this is the greatest thing that ever happened to America and it will save hundreds

and thousands of boys every year from destroying themselves by following the habits of their fathers who are powerless to make any objection on account of their own indulgence.' "

Mr. C. C. Carstens of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, stated that in a city in that State which had permitted the sale of liquor for the better part of 20 years, 10 families in which there were 29 neglected children, seven drinking men and seven drinking women had been reported to his Society in July 1916. In July 1920, under prohibition, there had been only one family with one drinking man and one neglected child. In no instance, in other parts of the State, had the reports for July and August 1920 reached more than one-third of the figures for 1916.

The statistics of the commitments of recreant husbands to the workhouse at Washington, D. C. are significant. In 1918 the number was 96. In 1919 it dropped to 25, and in 1920 to 18.

Cases of dependency and neglect of children in Chicago, Illinois, decreased over 20 per cent after the section went "dry."

Since sober fathers are able to earn enough money to keep their families in what would

have been considered luxury in the "wet" days, it is not necessary for their children to go out to work at an early age. Instead of having to leave school as soon as they pass beyond the compulsory age and start work to earn money to keep the wolf from the door, the boys and girls remain in school and continue their academic studies, or, having discovered their natural bent, go to technical schools to perfect themselves in some art or trade, and the child labour problem is being automatically solved by it.

In North Carolina, under prohibition, enrollment and attendance at public schools increased more than 21 per cent.

In the District of Columbia, six months after prohibition came in, the enrollment was too large to be accommodated by the capacity of the class rooms of the Washington schools, and frantic appeals were going up to Congress for more school buildings.

Omaha, Nebraska, in two years of prohibition, voted $ 7,000,000 in bonds to build a new commercial high school and other school buildings, made necessary by the increase in the school population.

The attendance at graded schools of Portland,

Oregon, increased from 25,890 in pre-prohibition days, to 36,380 in 1920, not including high school pupils.

The result is that Americans are finding that not only cultural standards are being raised through the higher education of the rising generation, but also general efficiency is increasing through the scientific training the young men and women are receiving. In future there will be fewer round pegs in square holes, since fate will not force the children into the first opening that presents itself, whether they are suited to the work or not.

So far as the rising generation is concerned, probably the happiest effect of prohibition will be that no new drunkards will be manufactured. The children will grow up without acquiring the taste for alcoholic drinks. A few old topers of the present generation may be too far gone to mend their ways, and may, through indulgence, in the deadly substitutes secretly sold by "bootleggers" in contravention of the law, get delirium tremens and die, but few young men are likely to acquire the liquor habit through drinking hair oil, or Jamaica Ginger, or Bay rum, or varnish or toilet water, or quinine tonic or any other of the sickening concoctions re-

sorted to by the men who have become "pickled in alcohol" and are willing to drink anything to satisfy their depraved craving.

An earnest of what we may confidently expect is furnished by Kansas, which went "dry" about 40 years ago. General Leonard Wood speaking of young soldiers from that State who had never known the taste of drink, declared:

"I find that Kansas boys and men grade far higher in morals, obedience and stamina than the men of other camps. The percentage of vice, diseases among them is the smallest that has ever been found in a camp, and the discipline is the best I have ever seen.

"We attribute this to prohibition in Kansas. These boys were brought up in a clean atmosphere —they started right.

"Tell the Kansas people for me that they have the finest, the cleanest, the healthiest and the most vigorous soldiers in point of endurance we have ever seen. The official records show this."

When one reads such testimony one ceases to wonder why the U. S. has gone "dry."

CHAPTER VI

HEALTH UNDER PROHIBITION

THE beneficent results of prohibition upon the health of the general population has been marked. Hospitals which, in the past, had elaborately equipped rooms for the treatment of delirium tremens, now find they are never used. The intoxicated, lodging house type of patients have disappeared, and the number of patients in general is lessening.

During the first three months of war-time prohibition in San Francisco, there was a decrease of 75 per cent in the number of alcoholic patients treated in the Central Hospital compared with the same months of 1918. The records of Sacramento, California, showed only 12 burials in the city cemetery in July 1919, as against an average of 78 for the preceding months. These included only four who died in the County Hospital during July 1919, as against an average of 15 to 18 per

month prior to the operation of the Prohibition Law.

The alcoholic cases in the Sacramento County Hospital fell from 32 to 13 in the first quarter; and those in the City Hospital dropped from 21 to 8. The number of cases of alcoholism treated at the St. Louis, Missouri, City Dispensary fell from 2,691 in 1918 to 897 in 1919. During 1919 there were 37 cases of delirium tremens, as compared with 70 the previous year.

Cases of alcoholism in the Washington Home, Chicago, fell from an average of 95 to 12 per month; and the institution, as well as the Martha Washington Home meant for women alcoholic patients, the Keeley Institute, which had been in existence for over 30 years, and the Neal Institute, a large private sanatorium for alcoholics in Chicago, closed their doors, as there were no longer any drunkards to be treated.

Suicides and homicides, and deaths from chronic and acute alcoholism, dropped, in Boston, during the first prohibition year, from 110 to 24, or 79 per cent. In the first three months of 1919 there were 62 deaths of industrial policy holders of the Metropolitan Life

Insurance Company in Boston, whereas there were only 12 deaths in the corresponding period of 1920. In the first quarter of 1919 there were seven deaths from alcoholic cirrhosis of the liver. In the first three months of 1920 there was not one death from that cause.

The State Farm for drunkards in Norwich, Connecticut, which, prior to July 1919 was crowded, was closed on September 11.

In regard to insanity also, the prognostications of the anti-prohibitionists have been falsified.

Decreased admissions of insane cases have been noted in every State. According to the census taken by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene of New York in 1918, there were, at that time, 239,820 cases of insanity in the United States. The 24 license States, with a population of 64,536,527, contributed 164,469 cases to the total—which represented 259 insane persons for each 100,000 of their population. On the other hand, 67,144 of the cases were in the District of Columbia and 24 States with an aggregate population of "38,787,968, which had been under State-wide prohibition from one to seventy years. That represented a percentage of 173 cases of insanity to every 100,000 of the population.

The ratio of insanity having its origin in drunkenness was only 1·7 in Kansas with its record of 40 years of prohibition, as compared with 10·1 national average.

The percentage of alcoholic cases among first admissions to the Civil State Hospitals for the insane in New York dropped from 10·8 in 1909 to 1·9 in 1920. The actual number of alcoholic first admissions in the former year was 561, and in the latter "dry" year was only 122. The New York City Board of Inebriety recently asked to be dissolved because it had nothing to do.

Dr. Horatio M. Pollock, Statistician of the New York State Hospital Commission, writing in "State Service"—a New York State Magazine—has arrived at the following conclusions:

1. The annual rate of the incidence of mental disease in New York State has decreased since 1917.
2. The annual rate of admissions of new cases of alcoholic mental disease to the civil State hospitals has greatly declined in recent years and reached its lowest point in 1920.
3. The percentage of first admissions with a history of intemperate use of alcohol has declined since 1917 and was lowest in 1920.

4. The annual rate of new cases of drug insanity admitted to the civil State hospitals has declined in recent years."

The Governor of Arizona stated last year that prohibition had resulted in a marked decrease of commitments to pathological institutions, and that insanity had been seemingly greatly reduced.

The Oregon State Insane Asylum, during the first nine months preceding prohibition, received 25 alcoholic insane, and only 10 in the first nine months after prohibition came in.

It will take probably twenty years for the alcohol to work out of the human system. Not until then, will it be possible fully to realise the difference made in cases of insanity by prohibition.

The decline in the figures for venereal diseases has been marked. In Boston in the first seven months of 1920 there were 1,634 less cases of gonorrhea and 754 less of syphilis—or 28 per cent in the case of the former and 32 per cent in the case of the latter disease. There is no doubt in the mind of medical men that diminution in the amount of alcohol used is decreasing the number of exposures to venereal diseases, since they are practically unanimous

in the opinion that alcohol renders a man peculiarly liable to contract venereal diseases, because it causes him more readily to yield to temptations which he might otherwise resist. Not only does it throw down the protective moral barriers, but it also makes the treatment much more difficult, since, by lowering the vitality of the tissues, it allows the micro-organism of syphilis a better chance of growth.

The percentage of venereal disease which is contracted when under the influence of alcohol, has been variously estimated by medical authorities, the highest is 80 per cent, and the lowest 30 per cent. Out of 365 venereal patients questioned by Dr. C. E. Riggs, 137, or 37·5 per cent admitted having been under the influence of alcohol at the time of exposure. As he puts it in an article in the United States Naval Medical Bulletin published during the war:

"Alcohol promotes prostitution, and prostitution is the main source of venereal disease. Individuals under the influence of alcohol are more liable to expose themselves to venereal infection, as alcohol attacks and paralyses the higher levels of the nervous system, such as caution, judgment, and self restraint. Fear of disease, which is an important

restraining factor, under the influence of alcohol is likely to be cast to the winds."

Under the "dry" canteen system the venereal rate in the United States Army was only 57 per cent, of what it was in the last year of the canteen.

One of the diseases diminishing under the "dry" regime is tuberculosis—"the great white plague." In New York City, in 1919, there were more than 2,000 fewer deaths from that dread disease than the average for previous years. Early in 1920 the Departmental Hospital of New York reported 700 vacancies for tuberculosis patients, while private hospitals reported 300 vacancies. Dr. Dillingham, of St. Joseph's Hospital, attributed this decrease largely to prohibition. The man who drank much and ate little, and because of drink was unable properly to digest the little he ate, readily contracted consumption and developed hemorrhages.

There has been a considerable decrease, also, in certain types of contagion. In Chicago, for instance, during the first "dry" winter, the Cook County Hospital had very few cases of pneumonia from the lodging houses, whereas in former years the wards were full.

The number of patients in King's County

Hospital in Brooklyn, New York, was one-third less in the first quarter of 1920 than in the same period in 1919, in spite of the influenza epidemic. Greenpoint Hospital, New York, showed a decrease of one-fifth, and Coney Island Hospital, New York, of 15 per cent for the same period.

The New York Hospital Ambulance calls fell from 100 in January and February 1919, to 42 in the first two months of 1920. Instead of an average of 102 alcoholic patients in Bellevue Hospital, New York, daily, there were only three or four patients in April 1920, and the alcoholic ward was closed, as was also the Inebriate Farm just outside New York City.

The chief resident surgeon of the Philadelphia General Hospital, estimates that the average stay of a patient in the alcoholic ward before prohibition was 32 days. That meant that in 1917 alone 121,392 days were lost through drunkenness by the 3,481 patients treated there. In less than a year after the "dry" law went into operation the alcoholic ward was closed, as there were practically no patients to be cared for in it.

The decrease in the number of patients treated in hospitals is resulting in saving large

sums of money or enabling the authorities to effect improvements which formerly were impossible owing to lack of funds. To give a concrete instance:

According to Mr. B. J. Cowan, State Treasurer of Iowa, the taxpayers of that State, between 1905 and 1918, paid $ 789,710·94 for the maintenance and support of the hospital for the care and treatment of dipsomaniacs and inebriates at Knoxville, Iowa. The amount for the two years before national prohibition came into effect being $ 125,478·81. "Shortly after 1918," he writes, "there were so few patients admitted to that institution, it was closed up." It has since been leased to the Federal authorities and is now being used as a hospital for soldiers suffering from mental disorders."

Prohibition is also responsible, in a measure, for the decrease in the death rate in all cities. In Boston, Mass., in a few months, the number of deaths from alcoholism decreased 50 per cent, and the number of suicides 33 per cent. In New York City the deaths in 1918 numbered 98,119, while in 1919 they fell to 74,443, the percentage per 1000 in the two years being 16,71 and 12·39 respectively. Newark, New Jersey, recorded 8,483 deaths in 1918 and 5,316 in 1919, while there

were only 3,891 in the first nine months of 1920.

Figures based upon death records covering 26 States and 77 cities published in the American Year Book show that in 1917 the average death rate in license States was 14·3 per 1,000 persons, while in prohibition States the rate was 12·3.

In the same year the mortality of infants under one year of age in 62 license cities was 107 per 1,000 births, whereas in 15 cities without saloons it was 82·3 per 1,000 births.

In New York City the number of deaths of infants under one year was 12,567 in 1918, or 92 per 1,000, while it fell to 10,639, or 81·6 per 1,000 births in 1919.

As these figures show, alcohol is responsible, directly or indirectly, for much infant mortality. Child-life is affected through heredity, through bad and insufficient food, filth, ignorance, carelessness, and, in some instances, even through the administration of poison mistaken for medicine. According to Dr. Woods Hutchinson, a well-known American writer on medical subjects, teachers report that the children are going to them better fed and in better physical condition than in preprohibition times. They are less nervous and less easily

tired; and their standing in school work and deportment is distinctly higher.

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of New York, which, at the close of 1919, had 21,770,000 policies in force, has gathered data which showed the number of death claims per thousand policies at risk in the industrial department for each month during two and a half years. According to the figures thus secured, there has been a most pronounced improvement since the Spring of 1919. During the year 1918 the monthly average of the number of death claims was about 12 per thousand. The great loss through the influenza epidemic increased the percentage to 15·7. During the closing months of 1919, the death claim ratio fell to 8·8 per cent, and for fourteen months ending September 1920, averaged about 10 per thousand. Deaths in 1920 among policy holders from "alcoholism" had been far below those for the corresponding period of the previous year.

Fire and accident insurance business offers similar testimony. Fires are fewer, because prohibition automatically prevents fires by minimising careless and wanton recklessness. In Birmingham, Alabama, the fire loss was

reduced, in one year, from $ 1,252,000 to $ 416,000.

For the same reason street accidents of all descriptions are fewer in the "dry" regime. In Cleveland, Ohio, in 1918, for instance, with saloons throughout the year, 34 persons were killed in street accidents, 46 were seriously injured, and 522 were slightly hurt. During 1919, with seven months of prohibition, 22 persons were killed, 27 seriously injured, and 296 slightly hurt.

During the first three months under war-time prohibition there was a decrease in San Francisco of 20 per cent in the deaths caused by accidents.

Accidents in Kansas City, Missouri, numbered 87 in the first 15 days of July 1919, as against 107 for the same period of 1918.

The opponents of prohibition insisted that if alcohol were banned there would be a great increase in drug addiction, and up to this day reports are cabled from the United States by partisans of the liquor interests to other countries claiming that this has, in operation, been the result. Persons who place faith in such statements, however, do not stop to analyse the situation

Drug addiction is often the aftermath of a drunken spree. On returning to their senses the men and women who have over-indulged in alcohol find themselves mental and physical wrecks. At such times they are likely to have recourse to some drug that will enable them to sleep and to ease their sufferings. It, therefore, follows that if men are kept from getting drunk, addiction to drugs is cut off at its source.

That is exactly what has been happening in the United States, lying statements to the contrary notwithstanding. Actual statistics from reliable sources from all over the country prove conclusively that drug addiction is on the wane.

Mr. W. J. Burns, the famous detective, is emphatic in stating that "the number of drug users is no larger than it was before liquor was wiped out." More is heard of the drug habit, he asserts, because it has been brought more prominently before the public since the liquor business has been killed, and more aggressiveness is being manifested in rounding up the users of drugs.

Dr. W. H. Sharpely, Health Commissioner of Denver, Colorado, declares that prohibition has

eliminated the great majority of the morphine fiends of that City.

Dr. Ben Reitman, in charge of drug addiction in the Chicago Board of Health, has come to the same conclusion. "Prohibit alcohol," he states, "and you can help to cure the 'dope' habit."

In the Cleveland Workhouse, where there used to be from 15 to 25 drug addicts, now there are only from three to five.

Dr. Doane, of the Philadelphia General Hospital, says that he can positively state that there has been no increase in drug using since prohibition.

In New York City, the Health Department established a special drug clinic in April 1919, in anticipation of being called upon to care for more drug addicts when the "dry" law went into effect. It was closed down in a few months for lack of business. Miss Eva Booth, head of the Salvation Army in New York, says emphatically that the use of drugs in America has actually lessened. "There was an increase in drug using during the war" she said to an interviewer in London, "owing to the despair of those who had endured great sorrow and loss, but the American authorities are now taking

vigorous action and it has become almost impossible to get drugs."

The Hon. William G. McAdoo, while Secretary of the Treasury in the Wilson administration, appointed a Committee to study the narcotic problem. It submitted to him a report to the effect that there was "no relation between the enactment of prohibition legislation and the consumption of narcotic drugs."

It is the conclusion of the officials connected with the department for the enforcement of national prohibition that there is no relation between the two types of addiction, and there is no reason whatever to expect an increase in the use of narcotics as a result of a decreasing use of intoxicating liquors. No narcotic drug produces reactions equivalent to those produced by the excessive use of intoxicants. The difficulties connected with obtaining narcotic drugs for improper purposes are, moreover, constantly increasing, and the drugs themselves are becoming more prohibitive in price.

CHAPTER VII

DECREASE IN CRIME

MOST marvellous has been the effect of prohibition upon crime. Within a few weeks of the opening of the "dry" era, in every State, police court work contracted, and workhouses and jails began to close down for lack of prisoners.

The cases coming under the head of "drunk and disorderly" were reduced by hundreds of thousands. That was particularly noticeable on festival days like the fourth of July (Independence Day) and Christmas Day.

On July 4-5,1919—only four days after the country went "dry"—there was not a single arrest for any offence in San Francisco, California, whereas the previous year there had been 42 arrests for drunkenness, the result of the Independence Day celebration.

On Christmas Day 1919, there were only 17 inmates in the county jail at Columbus, Ohio,

as against nearly 1,200—the average of previous years.

In Lancaster, Ohio, for the first time in 30 years, there was no big dinner for the prisoners in the county jail, for the good and sufficient reason that it had been empty for two weeks.

In New York City, in 1918, in one court alone 26 persons were arraigned on charges of drunkenness on Christmas Day. Only 2 cases were arraigned in 1919 for a similar offence.

Inquiries recently made from the heads of police departments in fifty-four American cities revealed that since the adoption of war-time prohibition on July 1, 1919, and more especially since January 16, 1920, when the Constitutional Prohibition went into effect, the number of arrests, especially from drunkenness, have greatly decreased. The following figures tell the tale:

Year	Arrests for Drunkenness.
1917	372,497
1918	294,006
1919	205,391
1920	141,071

The decrease is becoming more marked as the machinery for the enforcement of the law becomes more and more efficient.

Arrests for vagrancy have also partly decreased. With the improvement of economic conditions as the result of prohibition, beggars of all sorts are disappearing from all parts of the country.

In two months after the adoption of prohibition vagrancy decreased one-third in San Francisco. In Sacramento, California, arrests for vagrancy fell from 134 in less than six months. A Sacramento, Claifornia, police judge noted that whereas, in one "wet" day, he had had before him as many as 108 vagrants, in 1920 he had to deal with but three such cases.

In Detroit the arrests for vagrancy dropped from 324 during a "wet" period to 54 in a corresponding "dry" period, or 83 per cent, while arrests for begging fell from 459 to 43, or a reduction of 90 per cent.

Less women are making their appearance in court than in the old days. There are still a certain number of women in the police courts who are too far gone to be influenced by the laws, but the percentage of young girl prisoners has decreased. The girl who erstwhile was dazzled by the lights of Broadway and became befuddled by alcoholic drinks, landing, sooner or later, in the police court, now goes home to

bed early instead of hanging around the barrooms until the wee sma' hours. It is noticeable, moreover, that even some of the hardened women criminals are dropping out of the records of the District Attorney's Office.

In Boston, during the first six months, only 530 women were arrested as against 988 in the "wet" half of 1919.

The arrests for prostitution decreased, in Detroit, Michigan, in a few months, by 64 per cent.

On March 23, 1920, the Bridewell (the Chicago jail) had only 41 female inmates as against 86 on March 23, 1919, and 224 on March 23, 1918.

The number of juvenile delinquents has also declined as the parents have become sober and capable of looking after their children. The number fell, in Boston, Mass., from 3,587 to 2,524.

Reference was made in Chapter V to the decrease in cases of neglect of children, desertion of children and domestic squabbles.

It is not petty crime alone that has decreased. There is a marked reduction in serious crimes.

In Boston, for instance, between November 30, 1919, and November 30, 1920, cases of manslaughter were reduced from 83 to 66; murder

cases from 24 to 22; and cases of assault with intent to murder from 77 to 45. The arrests for larcenies during the same period decreased from 3,117 to 2,699, and offences against property committed with violence from 716 to 565. There were 824 less cases of offences against property without violence. The number of cases of robbery fell from 235 to 115, and of breaking into and entering buildings from 449 to 285.

An inquiry made by Mr. Johnson elicited the following information regarding the decrease of arrests, for charges *other than* drunkenness, in 54 of the large American cities:

Year	Arrests on charges other than drunkenness.
1917	1,109,561
1918	1,049,963
1919	956,215
1920	935,318

As the inevitable consequence of fewer charges and trials, the prison population is decreasing everywhere in the country. The following instances tell their own tale:

The Massachusetts prison population dropped 28 per cent in 1919 as compared with the previous year.

Soon after the law went into operation the

penitentiary at Buffalo, New York, dismissed eight guards, saving $11,000 a year to the State.

The Attorney-General of Virginia stated that the commitments to the penitentiary were only 203 in 1919 as compared with 209 the previous year, 266 in 1917, and 457 in 1916.

In Mississippi, there were 1,406 convicts in the State penitentiary on June 1917, and only 1,293 on June 1,1918, a net loss of 133 under bone-dry law. In the month of March 1920, the number had fallen to 1,150. The superintendent of that penal institution believes that in the near future there will be less than 800 persons under his care.

In Oklahoma the number of men convicted and committed, fell, in the first "dry" year, from 261 to 136.

The Governor of Utah is authority for the statement that the penitentiary population of that State has decreased under prohibition.

The decrease in the number of convicts in workhouses has been specially noticeable.

Within a few months of the inauguration of the "dry" regime the convicts at the Columbus Workhouse farm dropped from 200 to about 70, and the City Council leased the farm to a private farmer.

The Toledo Workhouse was so short of convicts in the Autumn of 1919 that the superintendent had to hire outside help to take care of the crops.

The Indianapolis workhouse, which had 155 inmates in 1918, was closed inside of five months from the time the State went "dry."

Prior to prohibition, Oswego, New York was a great headquarter for tramps, at times as many as 40 of them were housed in the jails and in receipt of free meals. Since the enforcement of prohibition no tramps have sought lodgings at police headquarters.

The diminution in crime is enabling the civil and State authorities to reduce the judicial police and jail establishments and to close workhouses and the like. A few illustrations will serve to bring home this truth.

Take courts first. In Boston crime so decreased, arrests for drunkenness alone falling off by 20,000, that local inferior courts were centralised and consolidated.

The felony court of Cincinnati, Ohio, was abandoned.

In Mississippi, by December 15, 1919, crime had decreased to such an extent that the courts were not sitting one-half of the time allotted to

them by law and there was not one-fourth as much crime committed as formerly.

On April 5, 1920, the Whiteside County Illinois, Grand Jury was dismissed immediately upon convening, because the State Attorney had no case to present, nor were there any persons to be tried. The State Attorneys throughout Illinois reported a falling off in the business of their offices of 75 per cent or more after prohibition became effective.

Of the reductions made in police establishments in many cities in various parts of the country, two instances may be given.

The Police Force of Grand Rapids, Michigan, was reduced 40 per cent within the first year of prohibition. Soon after prohibition came into effect the force of reserve officers in the police department was discontinued, as well as the reserve officers' school, costing $12,000 per year.

In Springfield, Massachusetts, the proposal to build an addition to the police headquarters at a cost of $50,000 was abandoned, since, under prohibition, it had become unnecessary.

The citizens of Lawrence County, New York, had proposed to build a $200,000 extension to

the county jail. A controversy arose over the issue of bonds, which delayed the construction of the new building. Meanwhile prohibition came in, and the people soon found the existing jail practically empty. No addition being needed, the $200,000 was saved to the community.

There are more empty jails in Ohio to-day than ever before in the history of the State.

Indiana went "dry" on April 2, 1918. By September 30th of that year, 34 jails were empty, and 35 had fewer than five inmates each. The jail population had been reduced by 50 per cent.

In Chicago, towards the end of the "dry" half of 1919, one wing of the House of Correction was closed, only 2,082 persons having been sentenced to it in that half of the year as compared with 3,689 sentences during the "wet" six months.

A few years ago the jail in Birmingham, Alabama, the chief industrial city of the South, became overcrowded, and the authorities decided that they would build the finest jail in all the South. They did so, at a cost of more than $100,000. By the time the building was completed, however, State-wide prohibition went

into effect, and there has never been a prisoner confined in that jail.

All over the country, workhouses have been closed. In Providence, Rhode Island, for instance, the municipal lodging house which, in the 20 years of its existence, had lodged 125,481 vagrants and served 327,789 meals, was closed on account of prohibition.

These are only a few typical instances taken at random from scores of reports. Every State in the American Union has the same story to tell of the emptying of jails and workhouses, the reduction of police forces and penitentiary guards, the closing of homes for inebriates or their transformation into other uses, and the general saving to the community from the closing or shrinkage of penal institutions.

Some of the jails, workhouses and similar institutions are being transformed into centres of social welfare of one sort or another. The jail in Birmingham, Alabama for instance, after remaining vacant for 12 months, has been converted into a school. In Boston the home for the care of alcoholic and drug cases has been turned into a boarding house for elderly ladies. In Mercer County, New Jersey, the

workhouse is now used as a tuberculosis sanitarium.

At Vinton, Iowa, in May 1920, the city jail was converted into a toolhouse, since it was no longer needed for prisoners. At Buck Grove, in the same State, the town jail was sold to a farmer, who moved it to his farm to be used as an out-house.

An illuminating instance is cited by the Attorney-General of Louisiana, demonstrating beyond doubt the direct influence of prohibition in the direction of decreasing crime. He reported that under prohibition the arrests in that State decreased enormously ; and that "when the lid was taken off for a short while the arrests took a phenomenal jump."

CHAPTER VIII

SAVING TO THE COMMUNITY

IT is difficult to calculate, in dollars and cents, the total amount of money which the community is saving through the effect which prohibition is having upon health and crime. The civic and State authorities are finding it possible to retrench expenditure upon hospitals and homes for confirmed drunkards, upon judicial, police and jail establishments, and upon workhouses and asylums for vagrants, tramps, and dependents. Organisations which engaged in slum and rescue work and in aiding the sick and needy are likewise able to effect economies.

Since prohibition went into effect, the machinery provided by the civic and State authorities for the relief of the poor has comparatively little work to do. Here are a few typical instances:

In the first six months of 1914, in Portland,

Oregon, 2,354 families were given poor relief. The number was reduced to 206 in the first six months of 1919.

In the first quarter of 1920, the charity cases handled by the municipal authorities of Sacramento, California, had dropped from 149 to 122.

The number of persons given poor relief in Omaha, Nebraska, fell from 1,384 in 1916 to 798 in 1918.

In Richmond, Indiana, the number to whom poor relief was given fell from 1,326 to 595, a decrease of 55 per cent, in two years. In Peru, Indiana, the decrease amounted to 71 per cent.

The Indiana State Board of Charities reported that comparing conditions in 82 counties for the years 1917 and 1919, in the former year 66,897 persons were given out-door relief, while in the latter year only 38,555 persons were thus assisted. In spite of the increased cost of living, which brought up the average assistance given from $ 5·83 to $ 9·05, the total amount decreased by $ 41,165·55, or 11 per cent.

In Baltimore, Maryland, 13,210 persons were given poor relief in the four months prior to July 1, 1919. In the four subsequent months the number dropped to 11,410.

The experience of the charity organisations

is exactly the same. Archbishop Glennon, of St. Louis, Missouri, declared that since the saloons were closed at least one-third less persons had applied for help, particularly at the institutions extending aid to elderly men and women, and to the Little Sisters of the Poor, who carry on their work among families in their homes.

The Associated Charities of Boston, Massachusetts, reported, early in 1920, that not a single case had been entered on their books on account of drink since November 1, 1919, while previously about 10 per cent of all cases were due to drink. That meant a falling off in the usual number of those receiving aid of about 400 families each year.

The general agent of the Boston Provident Association reported that for the first ten months after war-time prohibition became effective, there were only 86 cases of dependent families showing intemperance as a factor in their troubles, out of 485 applications.

At the Bowery Mission in New York, where, in the old days usually 1,500 men were fed at Christmas, only 400 showed up for Christmas dinner in 1919. At another New York mission so few came for dinner at noon on Christmas

day, 1919, that the meal was put off until evening. Finally only 300 were fed.

The Rev. Dr. William H. Jeffreys, Superintendent of the Protestant Episcopal City Mission, in New York City, says that the number of dependent families in that metropolis has fallen off 50 per cent. The "Squirrel Inn" on the Bowery, established many years ago by the Church Temperance Society, which, in winter housed as many as 200 or 300 guests a day has had so few visitors since prohibition went into effect that early in 1920 the building was sold to an investor who proposed to remodel it for shop and loft purposes. No one was ever turned away from its hospitable doors, even if he did not have a penny to pay for his cup of coffee, and often he went away with a coin in his pocket to help him get hold of an outfit to make a presentable appearance in seeking a job.

Rev. John Callahan, superintendent of the mission at Hadley's Rescue Hall in New York City, declared that prohibition had cut their work in half. He told the story of a man who, a short time ago, was down and out through drink, who had recently given him $800 for safe keeping, and said that he met well-dressed

prosperous men every day on the street, who used to be at the rescue mission all the time as inmates. During the "wet" six months of 1920 the mission provided free lodging for 4,758 men. During the "dry" six months only 2,656 had to be assisted. Altogether 22,622 men were given shelter and help during the first six months, whereas only 8,892 applied for help in the latter half of 1919.

An illustration may be given to show how the saving effected on various institutions maintained by municipal authorities is enabling them to recoup the loss suffered through the extinction of excise revenue. The excise revenue derived by Indianapolis was $ 35,000. It saved approximately twice that amount through closing its workhouse as the result of prohibition.

Prohibition has not only resulted in great saving to the civil and State authorities, but has also increased their revenue. With the elimination of the saloons, property rapidly rose in value. To cite an instance:

A building in Indianapolis sold for $ 48,660 in December 1916, so rose in value within a year of prohibition that it was assessed, for purposes of taxation, at $ 65,000. The enormous

increase in value of the property benefited the owner and also the community, since in America, as elsewhere, taxation is calculated upon the basis of the value of the property.

Mr. Emerson Hunt, of Mitchell, South Dakota, while acknowledging that taxes are higher than they were before prohibition took effect, declares that it would be "fair to say this is not because of prohibition, but rather because of the fact that property has doubled in value since prohibition took effect, and this is true of both real estate and city property." To illustrate his point he explains that a small home purchased by him at the outbreak of the war, for $ 1,900 to be paid for in five years, could have been sold two years later for $ 4,500. "Of course," he remarks, "the taxes are higher on a $ 4,500 house than on a 1,900 dollar one."

The same result has occurred all over the United States. In all cities and towns, property formerly occupied by the saloons, and in the neighbourhood of saloons has increased in value, thereby yielding increased revenue. There is, moreover, a tendency towards the reduction of the amounts of taxes necessary for the maintenance of institutions. All this must, of necessity, operate to lower the general

property tax rate for the State, county and local purposes.

Mr. William E. Sill, Counsel of the New York State Tax Commission, gives illuminating statistics regarding the effect of the War-Time Prohibition Act, which came into operation on July 1, 1919, and of the amendment to the United States Constitution, which became effective on January 16, 1920, upon the State revenue:

1918	$ 20,981,738·15
1919	$ 17,143,005·68
1920	$ 9,936,385·50

To balance the loss which the State is suffering through the extinction of the liquor traffic, a new scheme of taxation was enacted by the New York Legislature in 1919, which imposed a personal income-tax at progressive rates of one per cent, two per cent, and three per cent on individual incomes in excess of $ 1,000 for single persons, and $ 2,000 for married persons. In the same year the rate of the State Franchise Tax on manufacturing and mercantile corporations was increased from three per cent to four per cent and at the same time the scope of the tax was broadened so as to include practically all business corporations.

In 1920 the personal income-tax law produced on account of the 1919 income (the first year of its operation) something like $ 37,000,000, one-half of which was retained by the State and one-half distributed to localities. The tax payable in 1921 on account of the 1920 income was estimated to approximate $ 37,000,000. The revenue from the franchise taxes on manufacturing corporations amounted to $ 13,676,675·97 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, of which the State received two-thirds and the localities one-third. In 1919 the revenue received from these taxes amounted to $ 19,785,618·42 and in 1920 to $ 29,789,350·91.

Analysing these figures the fact emerges that the taxes in 1920, from the personal income-tax and the increased franchise tax, amounted to some $ 73,000,000. The Federal Prohibition Act has therefore, proved instrumental in increasing the revenue of New York State and localities in 1920 by more than $ 36,000,000.

In a letter dated June 11, 1921, addressed to Mr. W. E. Johnson, Mr. William H. Blodgett, Commissioner of Taxes for Connecticut, noted that the taking away of approximately 4 per cent of the income of the municipalities was

not noticed in the general increase of property valuations, all the towns, boroughs and cities in the State, about the time the "dry" law went into effect, having been going through a general re-valuation, which in almost every case, resulted in a large increase in the total income. The counties, however, were hit much harder, since about 20 per cent of their income had been obtained from liquor licences. The State Legislature during its 1921 session gave them a new source of revenue to take the place of the former receipts from liquor—the new source being on admissions to places of amusement. All theatres, moving picture-houses and other places of amusement are required, by the new law, to pay half of one cent for every ten cents charged in their admissions. The State receives the entire amount from the theatres and then apportions back one-half of such amount to the county.

Mr. Blodgett points out that the principal sources of expenditure on the part of the county are the county home (poor house), and the county jail. Any one of the new taxes—the amusement tax, the tax on unincorporated business, and the gasoline tax—will net the State much more than the amount cut off

because of the prohibition amendment—which amounted to three per cent of the entire State revenue.

Mr. C. Lee Moon, Auditor of Public Accounts of Virginia, writes that "the adoption of prohibition in the Commonwealth of Virginia has not necessitated any increase in the State tax rate.

Mr. R. W. Archer, State Treasurer of Ohio, says "The prohibition policy in Ohio has caused no increase in taxes that I know of."

Mr. L. D. Thompson, State Treasurer of Missouri, writes that "as a matter of fact the adoption of the prohibition policy in the State of Missouri has not affected tax rates. Our general property-tax is just the same. In many courts the criminal cost saved has off-set the liquor tax." He adds that "no sane business man can help but admire that prohibition has been a great blessing to our country."

The illustrations given show how the American people have succeeded in more than recouping the revenue they derived from excise. The United States Government received $ 443,839,544·98, in 1918 and $ 483,050,084·47, in 1919, from that source. Such large sums of money were derived from liquor because of the

high license system which the liquor interests favoured, because they felt that the greater the revenue derived by the State through excise, the less they were likely to be extinguished.

The prohibitionists worried, for decades, about recouping the loss of excise revenue. The sequel shows that they worried in vain.

The liquor traffic had never paid its way. It was, on the contrary, a burden upon the taxpayer over and above the liquor revenue it gave —a burden in the sense that it destroyed wealth, necessitated the keeping up of jails, criminal courts and police establishments, and eleemosynary institutions.

For every dollar of liquor revenue received by the State, twenty dollars had to be wasted by people upon drink. Spending twenty dollars in order to get one dollar did not appeal to Americans as being good business, especially because the twenty dollars was mostly paid by poor people who could ill afford it. The taxpayer who abstained from liquor had to pay most of the cost of maintaining prisons, courts and police establishments filled with the product of the liquor shop.

As, through the elimination of the saloon money is being saved in various ways, and

revenue is being increased through the rise in the value of property, American cities and towns find that they are able to liquidate debts, and many of them even have surpluses available for constructive work. The result is noticeable in every direction.

The schools are, perhaps, benefited the most. Many millions of dollars are being spent annually upon the construction of larger and better buildings and for the provision of greater educational facilities.

Public buildings of all descriptions are being erected. The old parks are being extended, and new parks are being opened. Roads are being improved, as are also the telephone, electricity and gas plants.

As the general prosperity of the people invariably reflects itself in increased municipal activities, bonds are being floated for the extension or construction of water-works, filtration plants, isolation hospitals, cemeteries, tuberculosis sanitoriums, and similar improvements. Property-owners are willing to pay for street improvement. The Municipal authorities, indeed, find that they are unable to carry out the improvement programmes rapidly enough to satisfy the citizens, who are as impatient for

communal comforts as they are for conveniences in their own home.

The people show a general inclination to pay in taxes for better service. They are demanding cleanliness above everything else, and are insisting upon the acquisition of new apparatus and equipment to keep abreast of the times.

South Bend, Indiana, is a good example of municipal activity under prohibition. During 1919 and 1920, that city built over ten miles of pavement, extended the water system, constructed a new school and enlarged others, and a fire station.

Richmond, Indiana, within a few months from the time the State went "dry," was at work on projects for two new school buildings, an enlargement of the electric light plant, a doubling of the capacity of the telephone plant, and the construction of a mammoth bridge across the river connecting East and West Richmond.

Buffalo, New York, at once began to consider the reduction of the police force by anywhere from 150 to 250 men, a reduction which would save not less than $ 300,000 annually.

Portland, Oregon, furnishes one of the most outstanding examples of civic improvement. Under prohibition, in a very short time the

number of city parks rose from 13 to 20, and the area of the parks from 600 to 2,000 acres, while a $ 500,000 bond issue had been authorised to purchase additional park sites. Oregon spent more than $ 25,000,000 upon road construction from April 1, 1917, to April 30, 1920.

To these positive results must be added the negative benefits which the community is deriving in the measure in which prohibition is being enforced. Americans who are terribly afraid of Bolshevism* taking root in their country, feel particularly happy that the saloon is gone, for it would surely have served as a breeding-ground for the propagation of that movement.

As Governor Robert D. Carey, of Wyoming, puts it, "It is very fortunate, considering the unrest in the United States at this time, that we have prohibition, and had liquor been available more serious troubles might have occurred."

The opponents of prohibition seek of course to give the impression that such unrest as

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* Bolshevism is variously interpreted in the United States, as elsewhere. Generally speaking it is meant to signify a movement likely to produce effects which the speaker most dreads.

prevails in the United States is due to the banishment of liquor. Such insinuations are entirely unjustified.

Governor Peter Norbeck, of South Dakota, feels that the "unrest, discussion, and general disturbance is in no measure accounted for by the operation of the prohibition law." The Governor of North Dakota says that "there could be no greater fallacy." Governor R. A. Cooper, of South Carolina, attributes it to "social upheaval brought on by the war rather than to prohibition." Governor Albert E. Sleeper, of Michigan, declares there is not an iota of truth in the statement that prohibition has bred bolshevism, while Governor Stephens of California characterises it as "absurd," Governor J. O. A. Burkquist, of Minnesota, says it is "ridiculous," and Governor Thomas E. Kilby, of Alabama, says that it exists in spite of prohibition, and that but for the fact that the nation is sober, would have been "very much intensified."

In some ways the greatest good that the elimination of the saloon has done to the community is by removing a cesspool which corrupted American politics. Mr. W. P. Lovett, President of the National Association of Civil

Secretaries, of Detroit, Michigan, writes, in a letter, dated February 23, 1921, that his town furnished one of the many examples of the cleaning up of political jobbery and corruption through the extinction of the liquor traffic.

"Previous to 1916, we had 1,534 saloons," he says, "and several hundred blind pigs, all of which were nesting places for the so-called 'Vote Swappers League,' a bipartisan organisation camouflaged either as Republican or Democratic, according to campaign requirements, but absolutely controlling elections through the saloon elements and through control of 50 of the 300 voting precincts of the city." Prohibition "has absolutely abolished that factor, and thereby has restored a free ballot to a city of one million population, in which previously the control rested with the commercialized liquor business."

The many governmental reforms which were adopted by the people of Detroit by heavy majorities, during the past five years, could not have been successful under the old regime. "They were made possible," Mr. Lovett writes, "by restoring liberty to the old ballot, and establishing purity of elections."

In the experience of that social worker and his colleagues:

"Politics and particularly local government, is able to free itself from bondage in proportion as the old commercialized saloon is broken. Speaking generally, there has been no factor in American Political life more productive of bad government than the saloon. Democracy depends upon a clean ballot and a free electorate. Both these are impossible when the political boss uses the saloon as a functioning point in the interests of bad government and corrupt politics."

CHAPTER IX

THE INDIAN PROBLEM

THE prohibition problem in India is, in a general sense, easier to solve than was the case in the United States. Whereas liquor entered into the sacrament there and the movement to banish it was, at one time, resisted as interference with religious practice, all our religions enjoin strict abstinence and our traditions of sobriety stretch back to the earliest ages. Even to-day, after decades of an indefensible excise (abkari) policy, in the formulation of which Indians have had no part or lot, a comparatively small percentage of our people indulge in drinking. That was not the case in the United States.

The following table, compiled from official

figures, shows at a glance, the effect of the excise policy upon the habits of our people.

Year	Revenue £	Consumption. Proof gollons.
1904-5	5,295,863	7,680,070
1909-10	6,462,226	8,320,711
1914-15	8,474,748	8,526,930
1915-16	8,498,270	8,173,647.
1916-17	9,106,082	9,297,250
1917-18	10,057,395	9,505,395
1918-19	11,421,524	9,710,056

It is to be noted that the increase in revenue is not merely due to increase in duty charged but also increase in the volume of liquor consumed.

The figures of excise revenue derived by various provinces, need to be examined to realise how the drink evil is spreading. Two instances will suffice.

In Bengal the total consumption of country spirits rose to 796,972 proof gallons in 1918-19, whereas during the preceding year, 700,586 gallons were consumed. The increase in consumption in a single year was 96,386 gallons.

In the Punjab during 1918-19, the consumption of country spirits rose to 456,800 gallons, an increase of nearly 100,000 gallons, in two years.

The excise revenue in a single year increased from 75 lakhs* to 104 lakhs (in 1918-19),

Officials, when questioned about the increase of excise revenue, used formerly to say that it was due to efficient administration of their department, which had practically extinguished illicit distillation of liquor. The explanation now generally given is that the people are growing in prosperity, and, therefore, are drinking more. Persons who put that excuse forward forget that a considerable percentage of Indians who consume liquor are among the poorest of the poor, as for instance, the wage workers in Bombay and other industrial centres who, at the best of times, live in a poverty so squalid as to defy description.

When pressed to extinguish the liquor traffic officials in India's employ always excuse themselves on financial grounds. The revenue from excise, they say, amounts to something like 25 per cent of the total revenue, and in view of the peculiar conditions of India, it is difficult to find the ways and means to replace it.

These difficulties appear to have been increased

* For the benefit of any foreigners who may read this book it may be stated that a lakh=100,000 and is written 1,00,000.

rather than diminished by the new dyarchical system recently introduced into the major provinces, among the departments transferred to ministers responsible to popular representatives, the excise is the only one which produces a large revenue, whereas the others are heavy spenders.

As Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the Indian leader who died early in 1921, used to say, that system has put India upon the horns of a dilemma—if they wish to provide increased and better facilities for education they must make people drink more. Indians better disposed towards the new dispensation take exception to that remark. They have, moreover, to prove by actual accomplishment, that now that Indians are no longer in the position of critics and have undertaken to work that system, they are capable of working out and enforcing a scheme whereby India can get rid of a traffic which is beginning to fasten a stranglehold upon certain classes of our population. The first budget statements, so far as they relate to excise, of some of the provinces are not of an encouraging nature. Take for instance, Behar.

According to the Hon. Mr. Fakir-ud-din, the Minister in charge of the excise department of

that province, the revenue to be derived from liquor will amount to Rs. 135 lakhs in the current year or an increase of Rs. 8 lakhs. Since there had been an extraordinary increase of about 9 per cent in the consumption of distilled liquor, the actual increase amounts to 10½ lakhs. About two-thirds of the increase was in lac-producing* districts, and is attributed to the briskness of the trade in that commodity (sealing wax). The remaining increase is ascribed to the better agricultural conditions and the unprecedented number of marriages in the first quarter of the year.

Though conditions in India differ from those in America yet there is no reason why the American experience may not be repeated in our country. It is as true of India as of the United States that the State derives only a small amount of the money actually spent upon drink. The extinction of the liquor traffic may mean the extinction of the revenue derived from liquor, but it cannot mean that the money now paid for liquor will be destroyed. On the contrary, the banishment of liquor will mean that

*It is interesting to note that sealing wax is called lac because the insects from which it is made are to be found in lacs (lakhs) on certain trees.

the money, instead of being wasted, will be available for productive purposes, and will help to improve the general condition of the people, who will not be able to spend it upon intoxicants. General improvement of living conditions must favourably react upon the State Exchequer.

Owing to the poverty existing in India, it may be unsafe to expect that the general rise in prosperity through the banishment of liquor will immediately benefit the State to the extent of recouping the financial loss entailed upon it by prohibition. Owing to the poor standard at which various institutions are maintained by the Government, expenditure in India may not shrink as it did in the United States.

It is, however, possible to resort to temporary expedients. It has, for instance, been suggested that land values in the vicinity of towns may be taxed. There is also much room for expanding taxation upon large incomes and revenue levied from death duties. Cinemas and other luxuries may also be taxed.

Only a few years ago we used to be told that the Government of India could not sacrifice the opium revenue, and that plea was used to force

our opium upon the Chinese, who were not in a condition to resist. Within the last few years, however, that policy has had to be abandoned, and the revenue from that source has, in consequence, greatly decreased. The Government has not felt the pinch, although it has had to meet tremendous obligations arising out of the war.

If the authorities take the trouble, the loss from liquor revenue can also be countervailed. Any temporary difficulty that may be experienced in making the necessary financial adjustments should not, in any case, be permitted to stand in the way of a reform which conforms to the religion and traditions of the people, and which demonstrably will confer incalculable benefits upon them.

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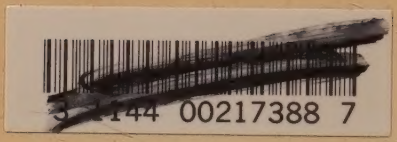
INDEX

Accidents ... 115
Accidents and Prohibition ... 52
Adams, President ... 3
American Indians, North ... 1
American Temperance Union ... 13
Anaconda Copper Mining Co. ... 50
Anti-Saloon League 18, 38
Archer, R. W. ... 139
Baker, P. A. ... 18
Bank savings by prohibition ... 85
Beard, Miss Mary ... 97
Beer, medical status ... 45
Bibliography ... 154
Black, James ... 15
Blaine, James G. ... 16
Blodgett, W. H. ... 137
Bolshevism and prohibition ... 143
Bolag, The ... 29
Booth, Miss Eva ... 117
Bread and clothing manufacture ... 76
Burns, W. J. ... 116
Cadillac Motor car Co. ... 51
Campau, F. D. ... 55
Capper, Mr., on prohibition ... 55
Callahan, Rev. John ... 133
Capital and liquor ... 76
Carstens, C. C. ... 100
Cartier, Jacques ... 1
Catts, Hon. Sidney, on prohibition ... 54
Census of U. S. A. ... 76
Cherrington, E. H. ... 18
Christian Sacrament... 11
Civil War (1865) and liquor ... 13
Cleveland, Grover ... 15
Clothing and prohibition ... 60
Collier's Weekly ... 32
Community—Saving to the ... 130
Continental Congress. 8
Connecticut State and liquor ... 13
Corn, fermented ... 1
Crime—Decrease in ... 119
Dairy industry and prohibition ... 58
Delaware State and liquor ... 13
Delawares ... 2

Death-rate and prohibition ... 112
Death-rate among brewery workers ... 77
Decrease in crime ... 119
Declaration of Independence ... 8
Dinwiddie, C. A. ... 18
Dispensary System ... 30
Distillery System ... 28
Doane, Dr. ... 117
Domestic relations and prohibition ... 94
Donnaconna, Chief ... 2
Dow, Neal 12,13
Excise revenue ... 139
Excise revenue in India 148-9
Family life and prohibition ... 95
Georgia Option Law... 12
Gothenburg system ... 29
Grand Lodge of Good Templars ... 14
Grapegrowers and prohibition ... 57
Hamilton, Alexander... 8
Health under prohibition ... 104
Hudson, Henry ... 2
Ice cream ... 58
Indian problem ... 147
Indiana Option Law... 11
Indians, North American 1
Infant mortality ... 113
Insanity ... 106
Jackson, J. C. ... 18
Jeffreys, Dr. W. H. ... 133
Johnson, Pussyfoot, and Roosevelt ... 24
Johnson, Pussyfoot 16,21,98,137
Kansas—Difference in 'dry' and 'wet' ... 34
Labour-benefits from prohibition ... 54
Lane, Winthrop D. on prohibition ... 52
Lackawanna Railroad Co. and liquor ... 49
Lawyers and liquor ... 33
Legislation *re* liquor ... 7
Lee Moon, C. ... 139
Liquor-combating it... 10
Liquor—Early American temptations ... 4
Liquor — Introduction into Africa ... 6
Liquor manufacture ... 76
Liquor revenue ... 8
Liquor trade efforts against amendment of U.S.A constitution ... 44
Liquor and producers.. 56
Liquor and soldiers ... 8
Liquor and workers ... 49
Linclon Call ... 23
Little Turtle ... 3
Living, standard of ... 57
Livingstone, Mr. Colin H. ... 98
Lovett, W.P ... 144
Maine state and liquor ... 12
Manahactanienk ... 2

Manahattan ... 2
Manufacture of liquor and bread and clothing 76
Maple Trees ... 1
Massachussets, Indians of ... 2
Massasoit ... 2
Mc Adoo, Hon. William 118
Mechecunnaqua ... 3
Mental disease ... 107
Methodists ... 10
Miami Indians ... 3
Millinery and prohibition ... 61
Morris, Hon. R. P. ... 38
National Convention of Temperance forces 11
Nebraska—Pussyfoot Johnson's efforts in 21
Negro problem in U.S.A. ... 6
Negroes and prohibition ... 89
New Hampshire state and liquor ... 13
New York Voice ... 23
Non-partisan temperance activity ... 17
North American Indians 1
Oklahoma ... 24
Option law of Indiana 11
Oregon Prohibitory Law ... 13
Orleans, Island of ... 2
Palmer, Hon. Mitchell A. 45
Partisan prohibition ... 15
Pennsylvania ... 9
Pilgrim fathers ... 2
Police—reduction in... 126
Presidential election and liquor ... 15
Presbyterians ... 10
Prison population ... 123
Producers and liquor ... 56
Prohibition-Benefits to labour ... 54
Prohibition—Effects in U.S.A. 75-84
Prohibition areas—Improvement in ... 34
Prohibition and Accidents ... 52
Prohibition and Bolshevism ... 143
Prohibition and Clothing. 60
Prohibition and demand for shoes ... 59
Prohibition and domestic relations ... 94
Prohibition and family life ... 95
Prohibition and Health. 104
Prohibition and Negroes. 89
Prohibition and Trade-union movement ... 78
Prohibition stimulates business ...47-71
Pussyfoot, Origin of... 25
Quakers ... 4
Railway companies and liquor ... 48
Raines law ... 28
Reitman, Dr. Ben ... 117
Resolution against liquor amending U,S.A. Constitution. 38-44

Revenue from liquor... 8
Revolutionary War ... 7
Roosevelt and Pussyfoot Johnson ... 24
Rush, Dr. Benjamin... 8
Russell, Dr. H. H. ... 18
Saloon—abolition of... 56
Santa Fe Railway ... 50
Saving to the community ... 130
Schools and prohibition. 113
Sharpley, Dr. W. H.... 116
Sheppard, Hon. Morris. 39
Shoes, demand for, and prohibition ... 59
Shreve port ... 78
Smell of liquor ... 72
Social effects of prohibition ... 91
Society of Friends ... 10
Soldiers and liquor ... 8
Standard Underground Cable Co. ... 51
St. Lawrence River ... 2
Taxation due to prohibition ... 136
Taxes and prohibition. 135
Thompson, L. D. ... 139
Tilak, B. G. ... 150
Trade-union movement and prohibition ... 78
Trevitt, C. L.—Pussyfoot Johnson ... 31
Tuberculosis ... 110
Vagrancy ... 121
Venereal diseases ... 108
Vermont State and liquor ... 13
Volstead Enforcement Act ... 44
Voorees Rubber Mfg. Co. ... 51
Wages in liquor manufacture ... 76
War Board of Continental Congress ... 8
Webb-Kenyon Law ... 35
Wheeler, W. B. ... 18
Whiskey—Rebellion of 17,92—9
Woolley, J. G. ... 16
Workmen and liquor... 49
Women's Christian Temperance Union... 17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